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HERODOTUS

BOOK I.

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE.

Though I am fully aware of the numerous defects of this work, I venture to hope that it has one merit—that of not leaving untouched any serious difficulties of grammar and construction, which occur in the text. The text-difficulties of Herodotus are always liable to be under-estimated. His apparent simplicity of construction conceals many a pitfall, which seems sometimes to have escaped the notice of students and commentators alike. On these and other points of grammar I have given references to Madvig's Greek Syntax; and occasionally, when Madvig seemed too brief, to the grammars of Jelf and Donaldson. I have also made considerable use of Krüger's Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen, and of Klotz's Devarii Liber de Graec linguae particulis.

A writer so discursive as Herodotus necessarily requires a good deal of illustration. A discussion of the larger historical questions presented by his work would have made the commentary too bulky, even had I felt myself competent to deal with them; and on these I have simply referred to the histories of Grote and Curtius. The references to the former
are made to the 8 volume edition (1862), and I have added in brackets the corresponding volumes and pages in the original 12 volume edition. On other points however I have thought it right to give a considerable amount of illustration from modern sources. I have no sympathy with the point of view which attaches an educational value to the mere 'getting up' of the text of a Greek or Latin author, without caring whether any attention is paid to the truth or importance of the facts therein contained. Certainly in the case of Herodotus such an unnatural separation of form and matter would be a very grave error.

The present edition does not profess to be in any sense critical. The notices of the MSS. are taken at secondhand, except in the case of two Bodleian MSS., which do not seem to be known to the modern authorities on the text—Abicht and Stein. The variations of reading contained in the appended table are only those which affect the sense of the passages in which they occur, or exhibit some syntactical peculiarity. Such a selection of various readings may fairly perhaps be called unscholarlike and unscientific. My excuse must be that I found it necessary occasionally for the explanation of passages to refer to variations of reading, and that space was gained in the commentary by putting them all in a separate list, where the reader could judge for himself of their relative authority. I have also availed myself of the table of readings for marking the passages in which I have departed from Bähr's text.

I had originally intended to append to my remarks on the dialect of Herodotus a sketch of the principal Herodo-
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tean forms, resembling those which are given in the more recent German editions. But I found that it must be of considerable length, to be of any value, and after all it seemed doubtful whether it would not be to a great extent superfluous—so full and accurate is Liddell and Scott’s *Lexicon* on the dialectical forms.

In the list of editions on p. lxxviii. I have mentioned the commentaries of which I have made most use. I have also endeavoured in my notes to acknowledge, as far as possible, my obligations to these and other recent authorities. It only remains for me to express my thanks to Mr R. W. Raper, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, who was kind enough to look through some of the sheets, as they passed through the press, and to whom I owe some valuable suggestions.

H. G. W.

Oxford,

*December, 1872.*
ON THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

For a full discussion of the numerous questions which have been raised on the life of Herodotus, the reader is referred to some of the works mentioned on pp. lxviii., lxix. It will be sufficient here to give a brief summary of the principal ascertained facts and of the points on which differences of opinion still exist.

The following is all that is known for certain about the life of Herodotus. He was born about the year 485 B.C. at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony situated on the coast of Caria, at one time a member of the league of the Hexapolis¹, and at the time of the Persian war an important town of the small vassal-kingdom ruled over by Artemisia². The travels, which his work proves him to have undertaken, must have extended over many years of his life. He penetrated into the interior of the Persian empire, as far as Ecbatana to the north-east, and Ardericca to the south-east. He visited Tyre and other parts of Phoenicia, and explored Egypt as far south as Ælephantine⁴. Northwards he sailed across the Black Sea to the coast of Scythia⁵, and also visited Colchis, the Propontis, the Thracian Chersonese and Macedonia⁶. In Greece proper he stayed (amongst other places) at Athens, Thebes, Lacedaemon, Dodona, and Delphi⁷. To the westward he travelled as far as

¹ I. 144. ² VII. 99. ³ I. 98. 6; 185. 3. ⁴ II. 44. 1; 106. 1; 29. 1. ⁵ IV. 76. 3; 81. 2; 105. 2. ⁶ II. 104. 2; IV. 14. 1; II. 44. 4; VI. 47. 2; VII. 115. 3. ⁷ I. 98. 8; V. 59. 1; III. 55. 3; II. 55. 5; I. 51. 1.

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Cyrene, Zacynthus and southern Italy. He joined the Athenian colony which was sent out to Thurii in Magna Graecia about 444 B.C.,—either as an original colonist or at some subsequent time. He was at Athens some time or other after the year 436 B.C., when the Propylaea of the Acropolis were commenced. He died (probably at Thurii) not earlier than 430 B.C., and he left his work (which, like those of the other prose-writers of the time, was composed in the Ionic dialect) in an unfinished state at his death.

The following additional particulars of his life are probably to some extent correct, and are accepted by many modern authorities. They partly rest on the authority of the lexicon compiled by Suidas—partly are inferences from the language of Herodotus. His family was illustrious, and he was nephew (or first cousin) of Panyasis, an epic poet of some note, who composed among other works a Heracleiad in fourteen books. Driven from Halicarnassus by Lygdamis (grandson of Artemisia), Herodotus took refuge in Samos, where he seems to have had relations. He subsequently returned to Halicarnassus and succeeded in expelling Lygdamis (probably about 449 B.C.), who had previously put Panyasis to death. His travels in Persia, Media, and Assyria were earlier than his visit to Egypt, which seems to have taken place shortly after the collapse of the revolt of Inarus against the Persian dominion.

1 II. 181. 7; IV. 195. 3; 99. 6. 2 v. 77. 6.

3 The early prose-writers were in many cases Ionians. The popularity of Hecataeus in particular probably did much to make Ionic the language of historical literature. 'The adoption of it by a native Dorian (see however pp. 1., li.) was as natural in that age as the adoption of the Tuscan by a Venetian or Neapolitan man of letters in the present day.' Mure. Hippocrates (Dorian) and Hellanicus (Aeolian) also composed in Ionic.

4 S. v. Ἡρόδοτος, Πανώκατι. Nothing whatever is known about Suidas, though he is generally placed about the 10th century. The lexicon (or rather encyclopaedia) was clearly based upon older works which have perished, and bears traces of having passed through many hands.

5 Compare Hdt. II. 44.

6 II. 148. 2; 168. 2; III. 39 foll.; 54 foll.; 60; 120 foll.; 139 foll., al.

7 VIII. 132. 1.
in 455 B.C.¹, and he seems to have visited Thrace before
437². He resided for some time at Athens, where he was a
friend of Sophocles⁶, and he died before the year 412⁴.

There has been much discussion on the following questions
in connection with the life of Herodotus.

(1) Did Herodotus give a public recitation of any portion
of his writings at Olympia or elsewhere? According to the
well-known story told by Marcellinus⁶ (date unknown) and
Suidas, on one occasion, when Herodotus was giving a public
recitation of his writings, the young Thucydides, who was
present with his father, burst into tears, whereupon Herodotus,
turning to Olorus, said, 'Olorus, thy son's nature is ripening
towards knowledge.'⁷ That Herodotus gave a public recita-
tion of his work at the Olympic games had been previously
stated by Lucian (2nd cent.), who however says nothing about
Thucydides or Olorus. And the pseudo-Plutarch⁷ reports, on the
authority of Diyillus (about 250 B.C.), that a decree was passed
at Athens to give ten talents to Herodotus—a gift which, it

¹ The language used at II. 150. 3 implies that he had been at Nineveh
before he visited the lake of Moeris, and if the story of his expulsion of
Lygdamis be true, it would probably have been unsafe for him to have tra-
velled in the interior of Asia after that event. The date of the visit to
Egypt is determined by the remark at III. 13. 6. Some authorities however
think that the visit took place during the revolt, advantage being taken by
Herodotus of the presence of the Athenian armament in Egypt.

² At VII. 114 no mention is made of Amphipolis, which was founded in
that year.

³ See the references given on p. xxxi. The beginning of a poem has
been preserved by Plutarch (Mor. 785), who says that it is universally
allowed to have been written by Sophocles:—φθιν 'Ηροδότης τεύχεν Σοφο-
κλῆς ἐτέων ὄν | τέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. It was thus written B.C. 440, the year
before the Antigone was brought out.

⁴ This is an inference from the language used at VI. 98. 3; VII. 170. 5,
which would hardly have been retained, had Herodotus heard of the defeat
of the Athenians in Sicily.

⁵ Vit. Thuc. 54.
⁶ δραµή πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα. For the metaphor, cf. Hdt. IV. 199. 2.
⁷ De Herod. malign. 26.
has been argued, must have implied a previous public recitation. According to another (probably still later) story Herodotus had intended to recite his work at the Olympic festival, but put it off from day to day (till it was too late) on account of the heat of the sun:—whence was derived the proverb of putting off a thing 'till Herodotus' shady day' (ἐς τῆς Ἰροδοτοῦ σκιᾶς). That the story told by Lucian cannot be true in all its details, has been conclusively shown by Dahlmann. Whether it had any foundation in fact, we have no means of knowing. It is probable that Herodotus became acquainted at Athens with Thucydides, who was about fourteen years his junior, and there is no a priori improbability in one or more public recitations of portions of the histories having been given. But critics attempt too much, when they try to determine what portions were (or might have been) thus recited.

(2) In what order did Herodotus undertake his different travels? That he had probably completed his eastern travels before his visit to Egypt, has been already stated. It seems probable also (from II. 170. 2) that he had been at Delos before his Egyptian visit, and we learn (from II. 44. 1, 4) that after quitting Egypt he went to Tyre, and subsequently to Thasos. Other passages (e.g. I. 98. 8; II. 7. 2), which have been thought to bear on the order of his travels, seem less decisive. We are probably justified in supposing that his expeditions to the east and north were undertaken from Halicarnassus or Samos, rather than from his later western home. But any connected history of his travels can be based on nothing but the merest conjecture.

(3) In what year did Herodotus die? Since the work bears many marks of incompleteness and want of revision, we may suppose that he was still engaged upon it at the time of his death. The question therefore becomes, What is the latest definite historical fact mentioned in the work? It seems to be now generally agreed that the supposed references to events as late as 408 B.C. (see I. 130. 2; III. 15. 3) are untenable.
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The supposed allusion to the occupation of Decelea in 413 (see ix. 73. 3) very probably only refers to the fact that Decelea was spared when parts of Attica were laid waste in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. ii. 23), and the facts mentioned at III. 160. 3; VII. 114. 3 are indecisive, because we have no definite statement of the time at which they occurred. The language used at vi. 98 has been thought to imply that Artaxerxes was already dead when the passage was written. If this is granted, Herodotus wrote as late as 425. But the assumption is questionable. On the other hand it is quite certain that he was alive during the first two years of the Peloponnesian war, since he refers to the war and mentions one or two events which occurred in those years (see ix. 73. 3; VII. 233. 4; 137. 2, 4). We are entitled therefore to conclude that he certainly lived as late as 430, and possibly as late as 425 B.C. For any statement beyond this we have no evidence.

(4) Were the Άσσούριοι λόγοι (see i. 106. 3; 184. 1) ever written, and were they intended to form a separate treatise? If Herodotus intended to incorporate them into his work, we can hardly suppose that they were ever actually composed. But it seems more probable that he intended to make them into a separate work—probably on account of their length. Otherwise why should he have neglected such a good opportunity for inserting them, as that which presents itself at i. 106? Or why, if he had intended to insert them in a later place (e.g. after III. 160), should he have anticipated a portion of them by the description of Babylon at i. 178 foll.? Whether they were ever composed—on the assumption that they were to form a separate treatise—is uncertain. The anticipation at i. 178 foll. seems rather to imply that they were not. Still the difficulty of supposing that Ἱσώδως is the true reading in Aristotle's statement about the 'Siege of Nineveh' is even greater than that of adopting Ἰρώδωτος. On this point too we must be content to reserve our judgment.

Dismissing as unprofitable—because insoluble on the evidence within our reach—these disputed questions about the life of Herodotus, let us attempt from his writings, and from a consideration of the times in which he lived, to picture to ourselves the man, and form an estimate of his character.

The events of the years 480 and 479 B.C. were such as would make a powerful and lasting impression on the minds of the young generation just growing up at that time into an appreciation of the historical situation. Too young to have entered into the feelings of trouble and anxiety, with which the Athenian sympathizers of his city must have viewed the preparations for the expedition of Xerxes, Herodotus was probably old enough to have shared in the rejoicings which the overthrow of the expedition must have caused. Very possibly the earliest remembrance of his life was the news of the battle of Salamis. Halicarnassus had contributed a contingent of five ships to the Persian navy, and Herodotus has given us a lively picture of the unwillingness with which many of the Asiatic Greeks took part in an engagement, which could have no other issue, as they thought, than the final extinction of Greek freedom. We may imagine how, when the glorious and unexpected news arrived, many a pious Asiatic Greek must have seen in the proud king’s defeat (as did Themistocles) the direct interposition of Providence, and we can hardly be wrong in attributing in some degree to these impressions of the early years of Herodotus that belief in the divine ordering of events and in the inevitable punishment of presumptuous pride, which he so continually enforces throughout his work.

The stirring events of these early years of his life would naturally have kindled his enthusiasm. We may imagine him resolving as a boy to devote his life to the description of that great war, the concluding events of which had first stimulated his imagination, and undertaking even his earliest travels with the determination of putting on record what he saw and heard. A desire to see the world was not without precedent among

1 See viii. 10. 2,  
2 See viii. 109. 4.
the Greeks of his age. Hecataeus of Miletus in the preceding generation had visited Egypt, and, although the travels attributed to the early philosophers are probably in most cases the inventions of a later time, Democritus of Abdera, as we learn from a fragment of his writings which has been preserved, prided himself upon the extent of his travels. But the difficulties of travelling in those days can hardly be overestimated. If all travelling implies a certain amount of energy and self-reliance, the travels of Herodotus must have required all the courage and determination of an African explorer of the present day. He must often have been in danger of starvation or shipwreck—of attacks from the ‘natives’ or wild beasts. The mere difficulties of transit, and his ignorance of foreign languages, must have often proved serious obstacles. It has been suggested that his object in travelling may have been in part commercial, and this is not impossible. Palgrave’s recent experiences in Central Arabia have shown the comparative safety of the merchant amongst uncivilized nations, where the man who professed to be travelling merely ‘for information’ would have been viewed with suspicion and dislike. But we have the testimony of Herodotus himself, that some of his journeys were undertaken simply in order to clear up points about which he was uncertain, and we may fairly suppose at any rate that his

1 II. 140. 1.

2 τάδε λέγει Δημήκρητος... Ενώ δὲ τῶν κατ’ ἐμοῖς ἄνθρωπων γῆς πλεονεκρόν ἐπεξεργάζοντας λογοτέκτους καὶ διάφανα τὰ μήκιστα, καὶ δέρας τε καὶ γέας πλεονεκρόν εἰδον, καὶ λόγων ἄνθρωπων πλεονεκροῦν ἐπικουρείας, καὶ γραμμάτων συνθέσεως μετὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς καὶ με παραλλαξεῖ. Ritt. and Prell. Hist. Phil. 77. Contrast the boastfulness of this language with the modest silence of Herodotus. Democritus was probably born about 480 B.C.

3 That he did not understand Egyptian seems certain (II. 125. 5), and his acquaintance with other languages seems to be limited to a knowledge of a few words and phrases, such as he would have naturally picked up in the course of his travels. See I. 105. 5; 110. 1; 139. 3; 172. 1; 187. 2; 192. 3; II. 2. 9; 30. 2; 105. 2; III. 88. 6; IV. 27; 59. 4; 110. 1; 117. 1; 155. 2; 192. 4; V. 9. 6; VI. 119. 4; VIII. 85. 5; 98. 3; IX. 110. 2;

4 II. 44. 1; 75. 1.
commercial motives were rather ostensible than real. Probably, notwithstanding all the precautions which he may have adopted, his travels would have come to an untimely end, had not the circumstances of his birth and times been greatly in his favour. Born a Persian subject, he was entitled to claim the protection of the great king in any part of the Persian Empire. The facilities afforded to traffic in Central Asia by the civilizing influence of Darius may be seen in the description of the 'Royal Road' from Sardis to Susa, and the security given to travellers in Egypt by the establishment of the Persian dominion is illustrated by the fact that Herodotus did not venture to trace the Nile beyond Elephantine, the last Persian outpost on the Ethiopian frontier. Born a Greek, on the other hand, with strong national sympathies, and an ardent belief in the rights of Greek freedom and the advantages of democratical government, he was sure of a warm welcome in all Greek-speaking countries, which had either taken part in, or sympathized with, the national struggle against Persia. The courtesy and kindness with which he was received in Greece are sufficiently attested by the unrestricted liberty which was evidently accorded to him, of examining the archives and treasures of Delphi and other Greek oracles—an indulgence not likely to have been granted to the ordinary visitors of the shrine.

The influence of his travels on his character is to be traced in the singular breadth of view and freedom from national and provincial prejudices, which pervade his work. Though 'a Greek of the Greeks,' he never allows himself to indulge in contemptuous language about the laws and lives of the 'barbarian' (and often wholly uncivilized) nationalities, of which he had had so much experience. He often praises their customs, even when they are utterly foreign to Greek ideas.

1 v. 52.  
2 II. 29. 1; 30. 4.  
3 See e.g. II. 147. 2; 172. 7; V. 78. 1; and III. 80 (compared with III. 81; 82).  
4 E.g. I. 137. 1; 196. 1; 197. 1.
and for the scientific and artistic products of Egyptian civilization in particular, he shows a strong admiration, while emphatically marking (and even exaggerating) its many points of divergence from the ways of ‘the rest of the world.’ He recognizes the fact that to each country its own institutions are the best, and taking a comprehensive view of the vicissitudes of human affairs and the varying rise and fall of cities and nations, he pronounces the present smallness and unimportance of many states to be no reason for passing them over in silence. The width of his human sympathies is especially traceable in the sentiments (of course unhistorical) which are put into the mouths of his leading barbarian characters. Herodotus does not regard practical—any more than speculative—wisdom as a Greek monopoly. Croesus, Amasis, and Artabanus are σοφοταί, as well as Solon. They have lived and suffered and learnt experience, and we may listen with respect to their views on the shortness and miseries of life, on the vicissitudes of fortune, and the dangers of excessive prosperity. The whole narrative of the Persian war is another example of this freedom from national vanity. It might have been read without resentment by any fair-minded Persian of the day. Full justice seems to be done to the partial successes of the enemy, and to the bravery of both their troops and their generals, and the fear of Nemesis induces Herodotus to ascribe the Persian defeat rather to the interference of the gods than to the valour or tactics of the Greeks.

His freedom from many of the local prejudices of his time is also to be referred to the influence of his travels. He is a cosmopolitan Greek. His Hellas includes Miletus and Cyrene, Sicily and Rhodes; his horizon is not bounded by the walls

1 See ii. 4. 3; 35. 1; 48. 3; 109. 3; 146. 1; 148. 2; 155. 1.
2 οί δὲ άλλοι ἀνθρωποί, ii. 35. 2; 36. 2.
3 iii. 38. a. 4 i. 5. 5—7.
4 See i. 907; iii. 40; vii. 10; 46.
5 E.g. vi. 113. 1; vii. 210. 3; viii. 86. 3; 87; ix. 22. 2; 37. 1.
6 See i. 92. 1, note.
of his own particular πόλεις. Yet his sensibility to the ties of local and personal attachment does not seem to have been thereby diminished. Slight traces are occasionally to be found in his work of personal likings and dislikes, which could no doubt be explained by the history of his life, if we knew it fully 1. If Samos was ever his home, he has abundantly requited its hospitality by the fullness of the account which he has given of its history and public works 2. And his praises of Athens, his temporary home in after years, have subjected him to many charges of partiality and misrepresentation. It is unnecessary to refute at length the assertions of the extraordinary treatise on the 'maliciousness' (κακοήθεια) of Herodotus, which has come down to us among the reputed writings of Plutarch. Some of its illogical accusations almost suggest the belief that it was composed merely as an ironical jeu d'esprit. But the joke seems to be too heavy for this explanation to be possible. The mask fits too closely to enable us to catch a glimpse of the sarcastic smile beneath, and it seems more probable that the treatise is a bona fide expression of Boeotian resentment and jealousy, the result of the plain statements made by Herodotus about the 'Medism' of the Thebans 3. The utmost that the writer succeeds in showing, is that Herodotus was careless of popularity—did not care, that is, to gain it at the expense of truth. The charges of undue prejudice against the Thebans, Corinthians, and Spartans may be rebutted by calling attention to the commendations bestowed on these states for what Herodotus deems praiseworthy in their conduct on other occasions 4; the charge of

1 Stein thinks that Hdt. shows a liking for the Macedonian royal family (v. 22. 1), Artabazus (viii. 106. 1), king Pausanias (v. 32. 2), Aristides (viii. 79. 1), Kallias (vi. 121. 2),—and a dislike for the Ionians (i. 142. 6), the Aleuadae (vii. 6. 3; 172), and Themistocles (viii. 4. 3). But some of these instances seem rather fanciful.

2 See the passages quoted in the note on p. x.

3 See vii. 205. 4; 233. 2; ix. 31. 7; 41. 4; and compare de Herod. malign. 31.

4 E.g. ix. 67. 1; v. 75. 1; 92; vii. 102. 2; 220. 1.
undue friendliness to Athens is disproved by the criticisms which he occasionally passes on its faults and follies\(^1\). If his praises of Athens really require apology, her unpopularity immediately before the Peloponnesian war would seem to be sufficient reason why her wellwishers should be anxious to call special attention to the services which she had rendered to Greece during the preceding generation.

To the stay of Herodotus at Athens the highest interest attaches, and his silence about the men whom he met there is extremely provoking. A contemporary sketch of the Athenian society of the age of Pericles would have been a literary treasure, for which we might well have been content to forego the possession of the treatise on the life of Homer, which has been fathered upon Herodotus, and is so often included in the editions of his work\(^2\). Of the Athens of Socrates we possess a vivid picture in the dialogues of Plato—our knowledge of the Athens of Pericles is based only on the comparatively untrustworthy authority of Plutarch's *Lives*, and on the scanty notices which may be occasionally found in Plato and the fragments of the philosophers. If we suppose Herodotus to have been in Athens in 445 B.C.—the year before the Thurian colony was founded—Sophocles would have been about 50—possibly engaged on the *Antigone*,—Euripides about 35, Thucydides about 26, and Socrates 24. Pericles would have been a statesman of some twenty years' standing, probably already married to Aspasia, and in intimate intercourse with his friends and instructors, Zeno the Eleatic, Protagoras the Sophist, and Damon the musician. That Herodotus was welcomed in this highly cultivated society (where his strange experiences doubtless found eager listeners) is proved by his intimacy with Sophocles, already mentioned. And there can be no reasonable doubt that he knew and admired Pericles, though we are unable to determine how far

\(^1\) E.g. i. 62. 2; v. 97. 4; vi. 109. 2; vii. 133. 2.

\(^2\) It is now generally ascribed either to an Alexandrian grammarian, or to an unknown author of the 2nd century A.D.
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his account of the political relations existing between the Greek states, his views on the inexpediency of a despotism at Athens, and his criticism of the Cleisthenic reforms, may be due to actual conversations with Pericles himself. Once only does he mention Pericles by name, but it has been truly said that he there mentions him 'as if he were a god'—a supernatural being, whose first appearance on earth would naturally be heralded by a portent. 'Agariste (he says), being married to Xanthippus, and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and she dreamt that she brought forth a lion: and after a few days she bears Pericles to Xanthippus'.

One other Athenian resident must be mentioned, with whom Herodotus probably came into contact, and whose influence on his writings (whether direct or indirect) is unmistakeable—the philosopher Anaxagoras. Born at Clazomenae, and therefore like Herodotus only a μετωκός, he seems, as early as 465 B.C., to have settled in Athens, where his abilities procured him the friendship of Pericles. He there became the recognized leader of that new school of scientific thought, the influence of which is to be traced in his distinguished pupils, Euripides and Socrates. The cardinal point of his philosophy is the conception of νοῦς. 'Mind' alone is separated from everything else in the universe—by the action of 'mind' on chaos the existing order of the universe is to be explained: πάντα χρήματα ἢν ὁμοῦ εἶτα νοῦς ἔθων αὖτα διεκόσμησεν. Vague as this language is, it was the first attempt to distinguish between the material and the immaterial—the first conception of an immaterial efficient cause of things, and its adoption implied a definite abandonment of the cosmogonies of the earlier mythologists. Accordingly we find Anaxagoras venturing to give an allegorical interpretation of the early legends,

1 v. 78.  2 v. 66; 69.
3 vi. 131. 3. Grote strangely views the story as an after-thought of the enemies of Pericles.
4 Ritt. and Prell. Hist. Phil. 52.
5 E.g. Zeus is νοῦς, Athene τέχνη, etc.
and attempting scientific explanations of physical phaenomena. The sun, which Herodotus speaks of as a god\textsuperscript{1}, was pronounced by Anaxagoras to be merely a red-hot stone, larger than the Peloponnese—the moon, to which Herodotus had seen so many sacrifices performed in the course of his travels\textsuperscript{2}, and by the phases of which the Spartans\textsuperscript{3} and Nicias\textsuperscript{4} regulated their military movements, was said to be made of earth and to contain valleys and houses. It was only natural that such statements should have shocked the religious feelings of the uneducated, and hence the paradox that the first condemnation for atheism fell on the man, who has been called from a modern point of view 'the first of theists.'

At Athens, if nowhere else, Herodotus was brought face to face with this rapidly developing school of thought, and had to attempt a reconciliation between the science and religion of his times. The result, as might have been expected, was a compromise. Occasionally he seems dissatisfied with the popular polytheism. He doubts whether it is correct to attribute to the direct action of Poseidon effects which seem to him merely the result of an earthquake\textsuperscript{5}, he regards the titles, forms and functions of the special gods as the creation of the early epic poets\textsuperscript{6}, and in his etymology of the word θεός he shows a curious reproduction of the language of Anaxagoras\textsuperscript{7}. Yet he attempts to trace a real connection between the religions of different nations. The Zeus-Ammon of Libya and Egypt is on his view not merely capable of identification with, but actually the same god as, Olympian Zeus\textsuperscript{8}. Heracles Pan and Dionysus are real beings with distinct histories and personalities\textsuperscript{9}, and the forgiveness of gods and heroes is invoked for remarks that may seem too sceptical\textsuperscript{10}. A similar mixture of doubt and belief is observable in his treatment of miracles and

\textsuperscript{1} II. 24. 3. \textsuperscript{2} L 131. 2; II. 47. 2; IV. 188. \textsuperscript{3} VI. 106. 5.
\textsuperscript{4} Thuc. VII. 50. \textsuperscript{5} VII. 129. 5. See also VII. 189. 3; 191. 2.
\textsuperscript{6} II. 53. 3.
\textsuperscript{7} Compare κυμαί θεόν (II. 52. 2) with the διεκδοματος of Anaxagoras (l. c.).
\textsuperscript{8} II. 55. 4. \textsuperscript{9} II. 145. \textsuperscript{10} II. 45. 4.
gifts of prophecy. He cannot believe that a dove spoke with
human voice\(^1\), yet he feels no difficulty in accepting and in-
terpreting omens equally miraculous\(^2\). He pronounces the
μαντική of Melampus to be an artificial invention, and hints at
the bribery of the Pythia\(^3\), yet he is a firm believer in the value
of the art of divination and the truth of oracles. The hesita-
tion which he displays about pronouncing against the popular
mythology is partly to be attributed to a reverence for received
tradition, partly to a love of mysticism and secrecy in religious
observances, partly also, without doubt, to a fear of popular
clamour.

If we put altogether on one side the received popular
mythology, the attitude of Herodotus on religious questions
becomes more definite and consistent. He believes in one
God\(^4\), a Providence, which orders all things wisely, and exer-
cises a moral government over the world. Crime never escapes
the eye or the avenging arm of God. Punishment assuredly
falls, if not on the guilty man himself, yet on his descendants—
often not merely on the individual, but on the nation to which
he belongs\(^5\). And wrong intention is a crime as well as wrong
action—it is a sin to tempt God even in thought\(^6\). Undue
prosperity in particular provokes the divine wrath. Preemi-
nence savours of presumption, and the judgments of God seek
out the mightiest men, as his lightnings strike the tallest trees.
The God of Herodotus is a ‘jealous’ God, who suffers none
to be proud except himself\(^7\). And strive as men may to avoid
offence towards him, it is not always in their power to succeed.
Their circumstances (if not their characters) are predestined
by a power against which it is useless to struggle\(^8\). Fate is

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1 II. 57. 3.
2 E. g. I. 78. 1; VII. 57. 1.
3 II. 49. 5; V. 63. 1; VI. 66. 2.
4 ὁ θεὸς, τὸ θεῖον; ὁ δαιμόν, τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ προνοια, θεῖα τύχη.
5 I. 13. 4; 91. 2; VII. 137. 3.
6 II. 140. 6.
7 See the story of Glaucus, VI. 86.
8 VII. 10. 13, 14.
9 IX. 15. 7.
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stronger even than God—how much more than man! Attempts to resist the will of God or destiny, even in the pursuit of what may seem right, are punished as crimes. Man in his ignorance must not presume to judge the ways of God.

The terrible severity of this ultra-Calvinistic creed makes us wonder at the cheerfulness and serenity of temper which the writings of Herodotus exhibit. If he applied to himself the doctrines which he enforces in the case of Croesus, Xerxes, and the rest, he must have lived in continual fear of Nemesis—perpetually on the watch for some divine warning which might foreshadow his coming doom. Perhaps his doctrine of Nemesis is to be regarded as a philosophical tenet rather than a practical belief—an attempt to grasp that conception of ‘law’ and ‘limit’ in the universe, which was developed in the πέρας of the Pythagoreans and the μεσότητα of Aristotle. Or perhaps he felt that the obscurity and troubles of his life, the loss of his early home and his many wanderings, secured him against the envy of the divine power. At any rate his fatalism does not stifle a belief in the importance of human efforts. He thinks that wise counsel and good sense ‘as a general rule’ secure success and the divine favour. But an undercurrent of sadness, which sometimes verges on despair, is traceable throughout his work. Life is short, yet it often seems too long. Even the happiest of men must many times wish to die rather than live. God gives men a taste of the sweets of life, and then dashes the cup of happiness for ever from their lips. And worst pain of all is the wisdom which foresees evil to come, when coupled with a feeling of powerlessness to do any good.

1 i. 91. 1. It seems doubtful however whether this solitary statement is to be regarded as expressing Hdt.’s own belief.

2 See ii. 133. 3 ii. 3. 4; ix. 65. 3.

3 See Grant’s edition of Aristotle’s Ethics, Essay IV., and compare Hdt.’s language at vii. 10. 13; viii. 13. 3.

5 VII. 157. 7; VIII. 60. 11. 6 VII. 46. 4—6.

6 γιλκυν γεβας τον αλων, l. c.

7 No trace of any belief in a future state is to be discovered in his work.

9 έξωισθη δε δωνη των εν ανθρωποις αυτη, πολλα προσωντα μηδενος κρα-
In his natural philosophy, it has been said that Herodotus fell below the standard of his age. That he was not on a level with the speculations of the leading philosophers of the day, may be admitted, and is probably due in part to the religious scruples which he entertained on the subject. The explanation given by Anaxagoras of the inundations of the Nile, though condemned by Herodotus as false, is certainly more plausible scientifically, than the view which he himself adopts. Many of his meteorological conceptions appear to us extremely childish, and the absence of definite language in his geographical descriptions makes it impossible to construct with any certainty a map of 'the world as known to Herodotus.' Yet we cannot doubt that in his scientific views he was far in advance of the average Greek of his time. His geological speculations are often conceived in quite a modern spirit. He ridicules the idea of a circumambient Oceanus, 'as round as if it were drawn by a pair of compasses,' and he refuses to believe the current fables about dogheaded or headless men, or men who annually become wolves, though he does not perhaps push his incredulity as far as he might have done. The many marvels which he had seen with his own eyes make him cautious about dogmatically pronouncing anything to be impossible. He contents himself with the statement so often repeated in his work—that he 'tells the tale as 'twas told to him.'

That the general veracity of Herodotus is not affected by these instances of over-credulity, has been universally admitted in modern, though it was denied in ancient times. Ctesias, court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon (about 400 B.C.),—the
ON THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.  xxv

author of a Persian history, some portions of which have been been preserved by Photius (Lexicographer, about 850 A.D.)—seems to have been the first to set the example of calling Herodotus a liar¹. Manetho, the Egyptian historian (high-priest of the temple of Isis at Sebennytus, about 300 B.C.), whose works are unfortunately lost, is said to have written a book on purpose to correct the errors of Herodotus², and by Greek and Roman authors alike the titles of ‘fabler’ and ‘legend-writer’ have been freely applied to ‘the father of history’³. All these attacks may readily be pardoned except that of Ctesias. That Manetho had a strong case we may well believe: he seems moreover to have attributed the mistakes of Herodotus to ignorance⁴. And the language of Aristotle, Cicero, and others, though a little exaggerated, cannot be said to be wholly undeserved. But there can be no doubt that Ctesias purposely brought false charges against Herodotus, in order to enhance the reputation of his own work. The cuneiform inscriptions convict him of having manipulated facts and fabricated history to suit his own ends in the most bare-faced manner⁵.

Whether Herodotus deserves to be called a ‘historian,’ is a mere question of words. He is not a historian in the modern sense of the term, nor does he approach so nearly to

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¹ Photius says ἡ τελεία ταῦτα περὶ Κύρου καὶ Καμβέσιου καὶ τοῦ μαγοῦ Δαρείου καὶ τοῦ Ζέρονος, σχεδόν ἐν ἀπασίᾳ ἀντικειμένα Ἰροδώτῳ λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωφρίστην ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοσοφίαν ἀποκαλών. Bibliothec. Cod. LXII.

² See Kenrick, Anc. Eg. II. 88.


⁴ (Μανεθόν) πολλὰ τῶν Ἰρόδωτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Ἁγνυπτικῶν ὡς ἁγιός ἑφευρέτης. Joseph. I. c.

⁵ See the introduction to Rawlinson’s Herodotus, ch. 3.
the modern standard, as does Thucydides. He has been well
called 'the Froissart of antiquity'. We must not expect in
his pages keen historical insight, subtle tracing of hidden
causes, careful sifting of conflicting testimony. Yet he has
merits, in which many a historian of greater pretensions has
been found wanting—diligence in collecting facts, impartiality
in stating them, and an earnest desire to tell nothing but the
truth. To wish that he had had higher merits than these—
that he had been more of a 'historian'—would be a mistake.
His discursiveness, his diffusiveness, his credulity, his dis-
crepancies, his exaggerations—all his historical defects, in short
—constitute a considerable part of the charm of his work. If
Herodotus had been a Thucydides or a Macaulay, history
might possibly have gained, but literature would certainly have
suffered an irreparable loss.

On the last years of his life at Thurii tradition is almost
silent. Apparently unmarried and childless, he must have had
his interests mainly centred in his work, to which he probably
made large additions after the completion of the first draft. If
he died, as seems probable, not long after 430 B.C., he was
happy in being taken away from the evil to come. He was
spared the pain of seeing all Athenian hopes of victory collapse
along with the Sicilian expedition—spared also the bitterness
of the faction-fights which seem to have agitated Thurii about
that time on the question of joining the Athenian alliance.
He was buried, according to Suidas, in the city market-place,
and the following commonplace stanza is stated on very ques-
tionable authority to have been the inscription on his tomb:

\[ \text{'Αρόδωτον Δύσεω κρατεί κόνις ἰδε θανόντα,} \\
\text{'Ἰαῖς ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης πρώταν,} \\
\text{Δωρεών πάτρης βλαστώντι ἁπο, τῶν ἄρ' ἀπλητον} \\
\text{Μάμον ὄπεκπροφυγών Θεόρμον ἔχει πάτην.} \]

1 De Quincy, On Style.
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS, WITH SPECIMENS OF EARLY GREEK PROSE-WRITING.

The advance made by Herodotus in the history of Greek literary composition, great as it was, cannot be compared, in point of importance, with the advance made by the first writer who ventured to throw aside the fetters of metre and compose in prose. Though short prose-documents\(^1\), drawn up for some practical purpose, may be supposed to have existed very soon after the introduction of writing, it seems nearly certain that the cultivation of prose, as a branch of literature, does not date back much beyond the middle of the 6th century B.C. The general causes of the introduction of prose may be traced with tolerable accuracy\(^2\); the particular occasion is unknown\(^3\). Clearly at first the change was very gradual. The new style of composition, as we know from the fragments remaining, was applied to the same class of subjects as the old\(^4\), and dealt with them in the same way. The diction and vocabulary were almost unaltered. It was only after many successive modifications that a distinct prose-style was produced.

\(^1\) See Mure, *Anc. Gr. Lit.* iv. 51.

\(^2\) See Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen*, p. 30 (2nd ed.).

\(^3\) The invention of prose-writing is attributed by different traditions to Cadmus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, and the elder Pherecydes. The first of these is a mere name to us, and very possibly the result of a Milesian adaptation of the legend about the Boeotian Cadmus. Mure, l.c.

\(^4\) As is also implied in the tradition that Acusilaus translated Hesiod into prose. So Creuzer says 'that man must be called the first logographer, who first narrated the legends in prose' (l. c. p. 53).
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS.

The first introduction of prose-composition in the sphere of literature may in some points be compared with the introduction of photography in the sphere of the fine arts. The discovery of an art which required less special aptitude for its practice, than that which had hitherto been the sole form of expression, opened the possibility of composition to a much wider field. A certain crudeness in the early attempts was no doubt inevitable. But it was gradually seen that exactness of expression was far more within the reach of the new arts than of the older ones. The grandeur of conception and the picturesqueness of image, which had been the characteristics of painting and poetry, were gradually seen to be more or less unattainable by photography and prose. Clearness, precision, and fidelity of detail gradually became the excellences at which the new generation of artists aimed.

We find it so difficult to conceive a state of things in which prose-literature did not exist, that we are rather apt to underestimate the difficulties which the early prose-writers must have experienced. The very same phrases and turns of expression, which in poetry would have been perfectly natural and adequate, seem harsh and lame, when no longer aided by the movement of the sonorous hexameter. The following specimens of early Greek prose 1 will illustrate the gradual development of the art of prose-composition, and explain some characteristics — to be afterwards noticed — of the style of Herodotus.

(1) Pherecydes of Syros (philosopher, about 560 B.C.).

Ζεύς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος εἶν δὲ καὶ Χθόνι ηὔ. Χθονία δὲ θνομά ἐγένετο
Γῆ, ἑπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοὺ.

1 The fragments of Pherecydes are taken from Sturz, Pherecydis Fragmenta (pp. 40, 46, 2nd ed. 1834), those of Heraclitus from Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philosoph. (30, 31), the remainder from Müller, Fragm. Hist. Graec. Several of them are given (in Greek or English) in Mure’s 4th volume.

2 Not to be confused with the later historian, Pherecydes of Leros, who flourished about 450 B.C.

3 The dialectical forms in this and the other fragments are quite untrustworthy. See p. xliii.
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS.

The shortness of many of these fragments prevents us from feeling sure that we have in all cases a perfectly fair specimen of the style of individual writers. Yet, taken together, the

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1 For another fragment of Hecataeus, see note on Hdt. ii. 45. 1.
2 For another fragment of Charon, see note on Hdt. i. 165. 5.
3 Hermogenes attributes much greater elegance to the style of Hecataeus than the existing remains would seem to warrant: τοῦτῷ δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἡ λέξις ('Εκαταίου) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, ὁδὸν σχήματα, κῶλα, συνθῆκαι, ὅμοιοι, ἀναπαύεις, πρὸς τὸ ἤδονα ποιήσαι καὶ γλυκύτητας, ὅταν εἰσὶν αἱ παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ (περὶ ἱδεῶν, ii. 12. 6).
passages are sufficient to give us a fair idea of the progress made in prose composition during the 100 years (or thereabouts), over which they extend. The following points are especially noticeable:—(1) The poetical (and even metrical\(^1\)) expressions, which are found in the early fragments, seem gradually to die out. In the passages quoted from Charon and Xanthus no phrase or word occurs which we might not expect to find used by Herodotus. (2) A gradually increasing facility in the construction of sentences seems traceable. Participial clauses, which are altogether absent in the earlier fragments, appear in the later ones—at first employed (e.g. in the second passage quoted from Heraclitus) with a certain amount of awkwardness, afterwards with more freedom. Yet (3) no trace is to be discovered, even in the later passages, of any complexity of structure. The narrative is carried on by the accumulation of single sentences (generally connected by conjunctive particles), each consisting of little more than a mainverb with its subject and object. The use of 'subordinate construction' (i.e. of dependent clauses) is not as yet fully developed. The construction employed is that which is called by the grammarians ‘paratactic’ or ‘coordinate.’

Herodotus—who stands on the border-line between this earlier semi-poetical and the later rhetorical school of composition—exhibits, as we should expect, points both of resemblance and of contrast, when compared with the λογογράφοι.

(1) Though we no longer find in the language of Herodotus that close approximation to poetical forms which gives the early prose-compositions an air of being translated poems, examples of poetical diction and picturesque phraseology may be found in abundance, and constitute one of the chief charms of his style. We may take as instances his personification of inanimate objects\(^8\) (which sometimes involves a quaintness of

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\(^1\) The first passage quoted from Hecataeus contains half a hexameter, and the passage from Acusilaus 'seems to be made up in great part of fragments of dactylic metre.' Mure.

\(^8\) E.g. ἐπέστη ὅνειρος, I. 34. 2: ἡ λίμνη καταβάλλει, II. 149. 6. Com-
metaphor), and his use of ornamental epithets. The frequency with which these occur, and the evident absence of any sense of incongruity in their use on the part of the writer, are to be mainly explained by the fact that the prose of Herodotus has not lost all traces of its poetical origin. Some examples however of his poetical diction may with considerable certainty be referred to a conscious or unconscious imitation by Herodotus of the epic writers. The influence of Homer on his diction is unmistakeable. Many of his shorter dialogues, both in particular turns of expression and in their general effect, read almost like adaptations of Homeric conversations, and the number of epic phrases which he has employed is very considerable. We cannot trace with certainty the influence of any other school of poetry on his diction. The plays of Aeschylus (with which he was acquainted) may possibly have coloured his theological views, but they have not materially modified his style. And although some very striking correspondences exist between the language of Sophocles and that of Herodotus, it seems more probable on the whole that Sophocles borrowed from Herodotus, than Herodotus from Sophocles.

(2) and (3) While Herodotus shows much greater freedom and facility in the structure of his sentences than the earlier λόγογράφοι, he still in the main may be said to reproduce the

pare the language used about the river at I. 189. 1, 2; and the phrase τῶν τρεφόντων στίλων, II. 77. 2.

1 E. g. the use of δέκτραν for the gum of a tree (II. 96. 1), and the use of οἶκες at II. 166. 1.

2 Such as οὐρανομηκεια (II. 138. 4).

3 See p. xlvi.

4 See II. 156. 7.

5 The doctrine of νεμεσίς is more directly traceable in Aeschylus than in either of the other tragedians.

6 See notes I. 37. 2, 3; II. 35. 3, and compare III. 119. 8 with Soph. Ant. 905, and IV. 99. 5 with Soph. El. 62. The correspondence between IV. 129. 3 and El. 27 proves very little.

7 See the discussion of this point by Hermann in Bähr's Excursus en III. 110.
mannerism of the Ionic school of composition. In the narrative portions of his work the 'paratactic' form of construction is that which is generally employed. It is on this account that Aristotle has selected Herodotus as an example of the 'jointed' style of composition (λέγει εἰρομένη) in opposition to the 'periodic' style (ἡ κατεστραμμένη, ἡ ἐν τοῖς περιόδοις) of the later rhetorical schools. By this he means (as he explains) that the sentences of Herodotus are strung together in a loose and inartificial way, so that no close or finish is necessarily reached, until the whole narration has been completed. In the commentary which follows, some examples have been noticed of the employment of 'paratactic' modes of construction, where later writers would have used subordinate clauses.

Yet it seems a mistake to classify Herodotus without qualification as a writer of the unperiodic—or, as it is sometimes called, 'sententious'—style. We may with more accuracy distinguish between three styles of composition which seem to be traceable in his writings. (a) In some few descriptive passages—probably where he is closely following, and directly influenced by, the language of the λογογράφοι—we trace all the ultra-simplicity of statement and harshness of connection which characterized earlier essays in prose. (β) Through the greater part of the narrative his style corresponds in its main features with the fragments which we possess of Charon and Xanthus, though there is much more ease and freedom observable in the structure and combination of his sentences. (γ) In some passages, which generally occur in speeches, he becomes rhetorical. We

1 Rhet. III. 9. 2. It is curious that another ancient critic by an inversion of metaphor should have described this same style as 'disjointed' (διηρημένη). Demetr. de Eloc. 12.

8 λέγω δὲ εἰρομένη, ἢ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ᾽ αὐτήν, δὲν μὴ τὸ πράγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. I. c. 'The λέγει εἰρομένη (εἰρω, εἰρων) which may be drawn out like wool or thread to any length, provided the material lasts, may be illustrated by the seaman’s phrase of spinning a long yarn.' Kenrick.

3 See I. 61. 7; 173. 3; II. 93. 8.

4 Notice e.g. the language at II. 71. 2, where he is supposed to be following Hecataeus.
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS. XXXIII

seem in these to be able to trace the roundness and elaborateness—and even occasionally the artifices—of a sophist επιθετικής.

The happy mean between jejuneness and turgidity, which characterizes the greater part of his work, is one point in which the style of Herodotus resembles the conversation of a well-informed and well-bred talker. Whether there is any truth in the story of the Olympic recitation, or not, his writings remind us much more of a man who is telling the story of his travels in natural unpreameditated language to a few familiar friends, than of one who is reciting a studied composition before a large audience. His redundancies⁴ and repetitions⁵, his frequent διακόλονθα⁶, his occasional use of the second person singular (with reference to the reader)⁶, and his invariable practice of referring to himself in the first person—so unlike the dignified reserve of Thucydides—are all illustrations of this conversational style. Some modern commentators⁶ have seen in his redundancies and repetitions the garrulity and forgetfulness of old age. But there is a sustained strength about the work, which prevents us from believing that the greater part of it was composed when his powers had begun to decline. And though diffuse, he is rarely—if ever—prolix. When force is to be gained by brevity, he can be brief⁷. The redundancies of his work must be ascribed, not to the old age of the writer, but to the infancy of the age in which he wrote.

The leading characteristics of the diction and syntactical construction of Herodotus have now been stated. It remains

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1 See I. 207. 2, 7, 9; III. 80—82; V. 49; VII. 8—11.
2 See II. 77. 7, n.
3 See notes on II. 10. 3; 124. 4.
4 Those of most common occurrence are the irregular use of the genitive absolute (e.g. I. 3. 3; 178. 3), and the coordination of participle and finite verb (see notes on I. 8. 2; 85. 2).
5 See II. 105. 1, n.
6 Notably Jäger, Disputationes Herodoteae, p. 17.
7 Kenrick quotes in illustration of this the use of the simple words μερός δὲ τοῦτο ἐδεικνύει (of Xerxes at the Hellespont), VII. 45.
to attempt an estimate, on more general grounds, of his merits as a writer.

The 'epic unity' of the ἰστορίαι has become a commonplace of criticism. The feud between Greek and Barbarian, with a statement of which the narrative commences, is exemplified in turn by the conquests of Crœsus and Cyrus, by the Ionic revolt and the defeats of Xerxes. The final catastrophes of Salamis, Platae, and Mycale are viewed by the historian as possibly direct (though distant) results of the abduction of Io and the Trojan war. From beginning to end of the book the one great truth is continually illustrated, that 'pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.'

The interference with this unity of plot caused by the insertion of episodes, is rather apparent than real. The introduction of episodes is as much a characteristic of epic poetry, as is unity of design, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus supposes that the episodes of Herodotus are the result of a conscious imitation of Homer\(^1\). We shall be safer in attributing them to the fact that Herodotus in this point, as in others, was a descendant of the earlier λογογράφοι,—whose works were so largely devoted to mythological and geographical subjects. His purpose was not so much to write a 'history' in the modern sense of the term, as to record 'the actions and the mighty and marvellous works of men, both Greeks and Barbarians.' If his primary object was a statement of the causes which led to the Persian war, it was almost equally important in his eyes to give an account of the results of his travels. To criticise any of his episodes therefore on account of 'their frivolous character'\(^2\) is an anachronism. The mere fact that a 'marvel' (or what he believed to be such) existed, was with him a

\(^{1}\) ὁσαέτος γὰρ Ἡρόδωτος, διὰ πάσα μὴν ἕχουσα διήγησιν, ἀν μὲν ἀνακαίνες τὰς λαμβάνει, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκροομένων θέως διατίθενται, εἰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γραμμάτων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἑπεισχύνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ, ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη κοίησαι τὴν γραφὴν, Ὄμηρος ἡ γηλωθῆ γενόμενος. De Thucyd. jud. p. 771 Reiske.

\(^{2}\) Mure, iv. 464.
sufficient justification for incorporating an account of it into his work. It is true that he occasionally seems to apologise for his digressions\(^1\), but his language implies no more than a fear that he may seem unnecessarily tedious. Whether all the episodes formed part of the original draft of the work is uncertain. That this was not the case may possibly be inferred from the fact that in one or two (but very few) passages they seem awkward and out of place in the connection in which they occur\(^2\). The introduction of one or two of the later episodes in Book ix. must be also pronounced an artistic error\(^3\), and the addition of the final chapter certainly spoils the effect of what would otherwise be the concluding picture—the victorious return of the Athenian fleet from the Hellespont. Perhaps this last part was never quite finished\(^4\). Still the episodes, taken altogether, are probably the most attractive, as well as the largest, portion of the work. Specially happy is the arrangement—whether due to the nature of the subject, or the art of the historian—by which most of the longer ones are contained in the earlier books, so that the interest in the later books centres almost entirely on the collision between Persia and Greece.

In the insertion of dialogues and speeches in his work, Herodotus followed beyond all doubt the custom of earlier λογογράφοι. We can hardly suppose that we should find speeches employed in the histories of both Thucydides and Xenophon, had the use of them been for the first time introduced by Herodotus. Their original employment seems to have been the result partly of the practice of the Epic poets, partly of the prevalence of public oratory in Greek social

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\(^1\) See ii. 135. 7; iv. 30. 1.

\(^2\) E.g. ii. 164. 1. The examples which Mure quotes (iii. 117; iv. 37; vii. 239) seem more questionable.

\(^3\) Especially ix. 108—113.

\(^4\) Mure thinks that the final chapter is ‘intended as a sort of concluding moral commentary.’ Yet we should hardly have had καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο in the preceding chapter, had the book been originally intended to end as it does at present.
and political life. The speeches and dialogues of Herodotus clearly do not lay any claim to historical accuracy, though he nowhere definitely states his position with regard to them, as Thucydides has done. In many cases it is obviously impossible that any authority for them should have been accessible, in others the sentiments attributed to the speakers are wholly inappropriate. Yet the style of the dialogues is perfect of its kind. They are never wearisome or insipid—always simple and natural. The conversational style which pervades the whole work almost prevents our noticing the transitions from narrative to dialogue, and the ease with which his characters are made to speak for themselves reminds us of Homer. The rhetorical style of some of the longer speeches has been already noticed. Yet even these are far more pleasing in form than the more elaborate orations of Thucydides. The characteristic differences between the speeches of the two historians have been well hit off by Marcellinus, who calls the speeches of Thucydides ‘oratorical’ (δημηγόριαι), those of Herodotus ‘dramatic’ compositions (προσωποφολίαι). We are able to picture to ourselves the conversations of Croesus and Atys, of Amasis and his courtiers, as fragments of a prose tragedy or comedy, whereas to find a parallel for the speeches of the Plataeans and Thebans, or for the Melian controversy, we must go to the Ecclesia or the law-courts. This dramatic element in the speeches of Herodotus leads us to another point of difference between him and Thucydides. It is by their speeches and actions alone that the characters of his dramatis personae can be estimated. He never attempts descriptions of character. Such a dissection of dry bones would have been foreign to his temperament. But the success with which his living characters are made to tell their own tale is a mark perhaps of a higher kind of genius.

1 Mure, iv. 501. 
2 Thuc. i. 22. 
3 E. g. iii. 80—82. Compare i. 32. 2, note. 
4 Vit. Thucyd. 38. 
5 For examples of the skill which Herodotus displays in character-drawing, see Mure, iv. 473 foll.
There are several minor characteristics of the style of Herodotus, which deserve a passing notice. (1) The gnomic vein is very distinctly traceable in his writings. A considerable collection might be made of his pithy and proverbial sayings. (2) The exaggerations of language, in which he sometimes allows himself to indulge, are very remarkable. They occur, as a rule, in matters of small moment, and seem to be used simply for the sake of effect. (3) He has a strong appreciation of ‘smartness,’ both in speech and action. The anecdotes which he tells with the greatest gusto are those which turn on some clever trick or sharp saying. (4) His sense of the comic is unmistakeable, though its existence has been doubted. Perhaps not more than four or five passages could be cited, in which the language seems actually designed to raise a laugh. But there is a fund of dry humour, which shows itself in little phrases and unexpected remarks. The dryness, with which Herodotus relates the quaint customs of other nations, leaves us sometimes in doubt, whether he is laughing or not. (5) We can detect occasionally traces of a genial sarcasm, which seldom however goes beyond the merest innuendo. (6) Of the deeper tragic irony—so common in the plays of Sophocles—several instances may be found. Herodotus regards mankind as a blind instrument in the hands of destiny. Often the very means, which men employ to avert an evil, are represented as serving only the more surely to bring it upon them. Often the words, which they use in their blindness, are exhibited in the most pathetic contrast with the real tendencies of their actions. (7) His power of pathos hardly requires illustration.

1 E.g. I. 74. 5; III. 53. 4, 5; 36. 2.
2 Thus the exaggerations at II. 35, 36 are clearly due to a wish to heighten the contrast between Egyptians and Greeks.
3 E.g. I. 27. 4; 187. 6; II. 121; 133. 5.
4 Rawlinson quotes III. 99. 3; IV. 61. 4; VI. 125. 5.
5 See I. 36. 2; 59. 6; II. 121. 24; 147. 2.
6 E.g. I. 172. 3; 215. 3.
7 I. 29. 1; 147. 2; II. 143. 1.
8 See e.g. the story of Adrastus, especially the language at I. 42. 2.
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS.

If the fostering of pity is to be accounted a crime, Herodotus deserves, at least as much as Homer, to be placed on Plato’s *index expurgatorius*.

It is impossible to characterize in a single phrase the merits of Herodotus as a writer. Perhaps all the titles, which have been bestowed upon him, the vague epithet ‘honey-tongued’, most adequately expresses the feeling with which we rise from a perusal of his work. The variety of his style almost defies analysis. And yet its charm has been universally recognized. The assailants of his kindliness and veracity have never ventured to attack his literary merits. The collection of passages which follows exhibits some of the more important judgments which were passed upon his writings in ancient times, and little advance has been made beyond them by modern criticism. It is somewhat singular that so few references to his work are to be found in writers of the classical period. Thucydides appears to have read it: Aristophanes occasionally parodies passages from it (e.g. *I. 179. 4*). But no mention of Herodotus seems to occur in the extant works of Plato or the orators. Aristotle’s solitary remark upon his style has been already quoted.

Alter (Herodotus) sine ulla salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit: alter (Thucydides) incitator furtur, et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.

CICERO, *Orator*, 13. See also *De Legibus*, I. 1 (pater historiae); *De Oratore*, II. 13; and *Orator*, 55.

(Ἡρόδωτος) κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὁρμάτων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλίαν, μακρὰ δὲ τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερβάλλετο, καὶ παρεσυκασεῖ τῇ κρατίστῃ ποιήσει τῆς πεζῆς φρόσιμον ἔμοιαν γενέσθαι.


τις οὖν ἔν ὑμολογήσει τῆς τε αὐτηρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἠδελας ἄρμονις μέσην ἐενα τῷ τῶν λέξιν. . . . ἡ κέχρηται Ἡρόδωτος;

Id. *De vi dicendi in Demosth.* p. 1083.

1 See Plato’s *Republic*, 606 c.
2 *μεληγήρος*, Athenaeus, III. 15.
3 *Thuc. I. 20. 4; II. 97. 7*. The ‘Summary’ of Thucydides (I. 89—118) forms a regular continuation of the history of Herodotus.
ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS. xxxix

ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἡδωνὸς κρατεῖ Ἡρόδωτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης...


Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydidès; dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus; ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior, ille concionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate.

QVINTILIAN (fl. c. 80 A.D.), Inst. Orat. x. 1. 73. See also the passage quoted on p. liv.

Ἡρόδωτος μὲν οὖν, εἰκονε ἐνθροσύνης σοι δεῖ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡμερίων ἑκ-

Dio Chrysostom (fl. c. 100 A.D.), Orat. xviii (p. 479 Reiske).

ἐν τολμών τοῖς καθ ἱστοριῶν πανηγυρικοῖς πανηγυρικῶτατος ἐστιν ὁ Ἡρό-

Hermogenes (fl. c. 170 A.D.), perī iōeων, ii. 12. 4.

μόνος Ἡρόδωτος ὁμηρικῶτατος ἐγένετο;

Longinus (fl. c. 250 A.D.), perī φυσις, i. 3.

ἔσθι δτὶ μέσῳ μὲν (χαρακτήρι) Ἡρόδωτος ἑχρήσατο, δὲ οὕτω ὑψηλὸς ἐστίν, ὀβτε λοχνὸς, λοχνῷ δὲ ὁ Ζευςωφῶν.

Marcellinus (date uncertain), Vita Thucyd. 40.
ON THE DIALECT OF HERODOTUS.

The causes which led the Dorian Herodotus to write in the Ionic dialect have been already mentioned. Nor is it wonderful that the merits of his style, when contrasted with the efforts of earlier chroniclers and later imitators, should have earned for him the title of 'the best standard of Ionic'. Yet there can be but little doubt that the dialect of Herodotus (in contradistinction to his style) has no claim whatever to this title. The true standard of 'pure' Ionic prose may be looked for in the works (or fragments) of Pherecydes or Hecatæus or Democritus or Hippocrates—it cannot be found in Herodotus. His Muses, like the Ionic women of his time, are clothed in a garb 'of many colours.'

This many-sided character of the dialect of Herodotus results from the introduction of (1) Epic, (2) Attic, and (3) Doric forms. It will be convenient to notice each of these separately.

(1) No one can read the works of Homer and Herodotus,

1 See p. x.
3 Ἐκαταίος ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὀφελεῖναι ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ... τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὕτω μειγμένη χρησάμενος οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ποικίλη, ὥστε ἄστω ἢνα ἐν λέξεως ποιητικῆς. Hermogenes περὶ ἱδεών, π. 12. 6. (Ἡρόδοτος) καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρησατό τισιν λέξεων. Ἁρ. π. 11. 4. διὶ (Ἰπποκράτης) ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰάδι χρῆται, ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος συμμίσχει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. Bachm. Aeneid. II. p. 367, cited by Bredow.
as we possess them at the present day, without being struck with the number of points which they have in common. Not merely do the style and syntax of Herodotus resemble to a great extent those of Homer—a fact which has already been noticed¹,—but there is an equally strong resemblance between the forms of the words and the modes of inflexion &c. employed in the two works. We find a considerable number of word-forms which are almost invariably common to both. There are others which are frequently employed in the one, and are of occasional occurrence in the other. And yet we are prevented from attaching too much importance to these coincidences by the fact that there are equally characteristic dialectical divergences². How are these correspondences to be explained? This question admits of several answers, each of which probably contains some portion of the truth.

¹ See p. xxxi.

² Only the barest possible outline can here be given of the main points of contact and divergence between the Homeric and the Herodotean dialects.

The two dialects (almost) invariably agree in the use of η for α (νερής, θάρηξ, τρικόντα, σφήν, περήσω, κοιλήναι)—of ου for α, and of ει for ε in several identical words (μοῦνος, νόος, ερωμαι, ξείνος)—of the uncontracted ε before η, η, ω, οι in verbs ending in εω, and of the uncontracted α in δέρω, δείδω, δεθως.

They often agree in the use of ευ for εο, ου (ἐμεί, ποεώντες) :—of εξ (ει) for εια in the fem. terminations of adjs. in ις (βαθή, δασάς) :—in the diaeresis of diphthongs (τείχει, διώκεις, Θρητίς) :—and in the forms ιθις for ειθος, σίω for κίνω, ηύς for είως etc. In the declension of pronouns and nouns and in the conjugation of verbs they have many forms in common which are unlike the later Attic.

They occasionally agree in the use of certain unattic verbal and prepositional forms (Hdt. has ένως, κομψος, ειδής, ἄξεις, ἄπειρος, άτεκ, Παραμιστής) :—in the use of the dat. plur. in εσοι, and of derivatives from the epic gen. in ης (Hdt. has δανυμονεις, Βασιληδεω) : and in the apocope of ἄνα before β and π (άμβιςες, ἀμπανται).

The main points in which the Herodotean dialect diverges from the Homeric are the avoidance of the aspirate and of the ι ρειλωντικών,—the constant substitution of κ for ι in certain words (κοῦ, κώς), and of εω for αο and αω,—the avoidance of the epic gen. in οια, —and of suffixes and forms in μι (though more of these are to be found than in Attic).
(i) Some points of resemblance are very possibly to be attributed to the fact that there is a real affinity between the two dialects. The Greek grammarians implied their belief in this affinity by distinguishing between two forms of the Ionic dialect—the ἀρχαῖα Ἅις, by which they merely meant the Epic, and the νέα, in which Herodotus wrote. Whether the Homeric dialect can without an anachronism be in any sense called Ionic, we are unable at present to determine:—the original character of the Ionic dialect and the compilation of our present Homeric text are questions which have not yet received a solution. But without venturing to regard the extant Homeric dialect as the growth of any one particular period, it is perfectly possible to maintain that the resemblances mentioned above prove the direct or collateral descent of the Ionic prose dialect from the earlier Epic. Some of the forms, which are common to the Epic and Herodotean dialects, are also to be found in the works and fragments of other Ionic writers of the age of Herodotus. These clearly must be regarded as characteristics of the Ionic dialect, and not as peculiarities of Herodotus. Unfortunately the materials which exist are not sufficient to enable us to construct with accuracy a table of the Ionicisms which are common to all the prose writers of the time. We are often therefore unable to determine

1 The fragments which survive of contemporary Ionic writers, though considerable in point of quantity, are almost worthless for determining with any fulness or accuracy the nature of the Ionic dialect of the time. The writers who quote them seem, as a rule, to have preferred to modify and alter their Ionicisms, so as to bring them more into harmony with the later forms. And there can be no doubt that the quotations given are often extremely inexact. We find however among the fragments of Hecataeus the forms καλεῖμενος, ὀφεις, δοκεῖο, and the like. The only writer of the time, whose works have been preserved in extenso is Hippocrates, whose text is in a very unsatisfactory state, and whose different treatises (on the assumption that they are all, or nearly all, genuine) display the most extraordinary discrepancies of idiom and style. A laborious pamphlet on the particles used by Hippocrates has been recently compiled by H. Kühlewein (Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumseruntur. Göttingae, 1870), which well
whether an Epic form used by Herodotus is really an Ionicism or not. But we may safely pronounce many of his Epic forms to be the result, not so much of the dialect in which he wrote, as of a modification of that dialect peculiar to himself.

(ii) It is probable that some of the Epic forms which are to be found in our present texts of Herodotus were not really employed by Herodotus himself. The fluctuation of dialectical forms in the existing MSS. is so great that we cannot but suspect in some cases the hand of the corrector. An Alexandrian grammarian with a strong view about the affinity of the Epic and Herodotean dialects might well conceive it to be his duty to alter the forms in his copies of the text in accordance with his theory. In most recent editions of Herodotus many Epic forms, which appeared in the earlier editions, have been (probably rightly) removed, though some uncertainty must always attend this mode of cutting the knot.

(iii) It has been suggested that the points of similarity which exist in our present texts of Homer and Herodotus are mainly due to a thorough recension of the text of Homer made about the time of Herodotus. That some of the existing dialectical correspondences are the result of a modification illustrates this. In some treatises we often find ὁς between preposition and verb (cf. Hdt. i. 194. 6)—most commonly (but not invariably) with an aorist—in others it does not occur once. In some μύρ is frequently used—in others not at all. The difficulties which encompass the writings of Hippocrates have not yet been resolved.

1 We may take as a good example of an epic form which has thus been removed, the declension of nouns in -ένι. Struve (see p. lii.) found that the epic forms of βασιλεύς (βασιλῆς, ἱ, ἱα etc.) occurred in all the MSS. without variation in 65 instances; that the readings varied between βασιλῆς, βασιλέως, βασιλεύς etc. in 252 instances; and that the form βασιλεύς occurred without variation in 163 instances. Out of 500 instances of other nouns in -ένι he found that the epic form only occurred in five cases, and that the MSS. were not unanimous in these. Quaest. de dial. Herod. Spec. ii. The result of this investigation has been the adoption of the forms ἓν, ἐι, ἑα in all cases by a large majority of recent editors.

of the Homeric forms is very probable. We can hardly suppose that the existing Homeric text dates in its entirety from a period long before the age of Herodotus. Nor can we doubt that minor alterations and interpolations were made even in later times. But the assumption of a late recension—so thoroughgoing and complete as seriously to modify the existing dialectical forms, and to introduce a large number of new Ionicisms, which are the main cause of the present correspondence between the Homeric and Herodotean texts—involves very great difficulties.

A brief outline must be given of this recent hypothesis, which, as its author admits, 'outstrips in boldness the speculations of Wolf and his followers.' It is maintained that the Homer of the older Greek writers, 'the Homer which Pisistratus is said to have collected and introduced into Athens,' was something quite different from the Iliad and Odyssey which we now possess: that some single\(^1\) poet (probably about the time of Herodotus or Pericles) constructed our present Homer out of old Homeric materials (i.e. out of the so-called Cyclic poetry), 'largely rewriting the poems, and introducing into them, among the purposely retained archaic forms, the great mass of diction and idiom which they now present of a character unmistakeably late;' that he gave to these new poems two titles already known and received, Iliad and Odyssey ('the former being a complete misnomer'), and that these two works 'passed into the lists of written literature as 'Homer,' and had well-nigh eclipsed and excluded all the rest in the time of Plato.' Of the arguments by which this theory is supported it is only necessary for our present purpose to notice two of the most important—\((a)\) the external argument derived from the quotations from Homer to be found in the earlier Greek writers, \((\beta)\) the internal argument based on an examination.

\(^1\) Paley rightly allows that the 'one mind and one feeling' which pervade the Iliad make it impossible to regard it as the work of more than one poet. This argument of course applies with still greater force to the Odyssey.
of the diction and idioms employed in our present *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Both these arguments have a direct bearing on questions relating to Herodotus.

(a) Of the strength of the former class of arguments the references to Homer in Herodotus may be taken as a test. He quotes or refers to Homer several times¹, and it is in his works that we first read of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by name. Were his copies substantially the same as ours? All the four² passages which he cites from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur in exactly the same form in our present copies. The semi-quotation at vii. 161 is also quite reconcilable with our existing version of the *Iliad*. It is true that he makes a statement³ about Homer which would scarcely be true, if he meant nothing by Homer but our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But no one denies that Herodotus (though pronouncing against the Homeric authorship of the *Cypria* and doubting about the *Epigoni*) attributed to Homer many poems besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and his statement may fairly be regarded as a reference to one (or more) of these. It is also true that there are reasons for thinking that in one point his version of the *Iliad* differed from our own⁴. But if this is the case, it can hardly be held sufficient by itself to outweigh the evidence on the other side. On the whole, though it would be absurd to maintain that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Herodotus were in all points exactly the same as our own, it is hardly an overstatement to assert that the evidence of a general correspondence between the two is very strong indeed⁵.

¹ The passages are ii. 23 ; 53 ; 116 ; 117 ; iv. 29 ; 32 ; v. 67 ; vii. 161.
² Assuming the genuineness of ii. 116. 4, 5.
³ At ii. 53 (see note).
⁴ See ii. 116. 4, note. Paley maintains that the language in the early part of this ch. implies that Hdt.'s *Iliad* differed from ours (1) in containing 'the wanderings of Paris,' (2) in not containing the Διομήδεως ἀριστεία. See on this ii. 116. 3, note.
⁵ The other arguments for Paley's theory based on the allusions to Homer in early writers do not appear to be more conclusive. Thucydides "alludes
The argument based on 'the comparatively modern style of the diction' has been laboriously worked out. About fifty examples are given of 'characteristic words' common to Homer and Herodotus, and a long list is appended of 'more recent Ionic and Attic words', belonging to the later recensions and remodellings of the Homeric poems, and probably not earlier than B.C. 450.' Yet the instances, when examined, do not seem strong enough to sustain the argument based upon them. Many of the correspondences of 'characteristic words' are of such a trifling character that it is unnecessary to suppose in these cases either that the Homeric text has borrowed from the diction of the time of Herodotus, or that Herodotus has imitated Homer. It is difficult again to see how the 'late character' of many of the forms common to the two texts can be considered to be proved. It cannot be maintained that to the story of Charybdis in the Odyssey, to the return of Amphilocthus and the storm which overtook the Grecian fleet on their return, a theme of the Nestor, and to the oaths of the suitors. He also quotes a verse from the second book of the Iliad as we now have it,' though he 'assigns to Homer some verses which are now read in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo,' 'Pindar refers to persons and subjects in the Troica not less than sixty times: only four or five of these touch upon scenes in our Iliad.' This surely only proves that other poems existed at the time side by side with the Iliad and Odyssey,—not that these latter were different from what they are now. And the same remark applies to the fact that 'out of fifty-eight lost dramas about Troy not more than three or four contain subjects even touched upon in our Iliad and Odyssey.'

The following are some of the 'more recent' forms and expressions which Paley specifies:—the frequent use of substantives in -σουνη and -ως, of adjectives in ἡμων, of genitives in -ων, of reduplicated forms of perfect (ἀραιμηνος), of future verbs in -εω (σημανηνω), of the third person plural of verbs in -ηαι (τετδχαιηαι), of contractions of verbs in -δω into -εων (δρεωνες), of many verbs in -ιζεων and -αζεων, and of the middle voice used transitively.

E.g. οι ἀμφι Πραμον and οι ἀμφι Λεωνήθη, ἐπιφράσσεται θλεθρων and ἐπιφράτεται τουδε, κακων ολων ἀναπλησατες and ἀναπλησαι κακα, νεφελη ειλημενος δομους and οδος γάμμω κατελυμενον, Πλων ἐκήσθαι and δια δρηια μη ἐκήσθαι. A list constructed on these principles might be largely increased.
because Herodotus uses certain expressions, these are therefore
to be pronounced as necessarily originating in his time. How-
ever rapid the changes and modifications of structure which we
may attribute to the Greek language of that time, the diction
and dialect of Herodotus must still have been in most sub-
stantial points identical with what had been in use in Ionia for
generations and even centuries back. Nor can we flatter our-
selves that we are as yet so well acquainted with the laws of the
growth and structure of the Greek language, as to be able with
any certainty to determine the relative antiquity of different
words from a mere examination of their form. Assertions
based on arguments of this kind require to be received with
the greatest caution, since, owing to the scantiness of the frag-
ments of early Greek literature which we possess, all a posteriori
verification is impossible.

We cannot therefore suppose that the correspondences of
the Homeric and Herodotean texts are to be explained by the
assumption of a definite reconstruction of Homer in the time
of Herodotus. On the other hand, that some of the corre-

1 Why for instance should the termination -oīm be pronounced to be
late? That the word τοξοτω in later than the word τοξω is probable.
But no reason can be given why τοξοτω should not have been used in the
8th century B.C., except that we know it to have been also used in the
5th. Surely the mere fact that the original significance of the termination
has disappeared—that we are unable to see why its addition should modify
the meaning of the root in the way which it does—is a proof of its
antiquity. Words of late coinage explain their own meaning. This remark
will apply to many other examples in Paley’s list.

2 The preceding remarks do not profess to be a complete answer to
Paley’s hypothesis. Yet many of his remaining arguments (e.g. those
based on the dramatic nature and the morality of our present poems)
amount to very little. And another (those numbered 14 and 15) seem to
exclude one another. If instances of anticipation in the narration (i.e. of
design and system) are a proof of the truth of the theory, instances of
repetition and irregularity (i.e. of want of system) can hardly be cited as a
proof also. And the supposed allusions to Hdt. in our present Homeric
text are very vague. Speaking generally, Paley may be said to have
proved that the Iliad and Odyssey of the earlier writers did not hold that
spondences are the result of modifications of the earlier Homeric forms is extremely probable. We cannot put altogether on one side the influence exercised by rhapsodists and correctors on the Homeric text. Side by side with the modifications which the Greek language underwent, there must have been introduced modifications in the text of the poems, in order to make them sufficiently intelligible to the people to whom they were recited. Had it been an English custom to recite 'The Canterbury Tales' at village fairs during the 15th and 16th centuries, there can be no doubt that the text of Chaucer would have become more or less different from the form in which we now possess it. Which of the existing correspondences are to be referred to this cause we cannot now determine. But that the modification of Homeric forms is a vera causa there can be but little doubt.

(iv) One other cause remains which may be assigned for some of the correspondences between the Homeric and Herodotean texts, viz. that some forms and expressions were borrowed by Herodotus from the epic poets. There seems to be no adequate reason for doubting that the writings of Herodotus shew traces of a deep and prolonged study of the Homeric poems, which has reproduced itself in his diction and dialect. As in his treatment of his theme, so in his choice of preeminence in Epic poetry which they have acquired since. He has also shewn it to be possible that some of the forms and expressions in our present Homeric text may be more recent than has usually been thought to be the case. He has failed to prove that the Iliad and Odyssey of the earlier writers were substantially different from our own, and he has attempted too much in trying to determine which of the Homeric forms and expressions are of more recent date.

1 To those who hold the 'improbable' opinion that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed from the Homeric vocabulary, Paley replies, 'that a large part of the words used in common are essentially prose words (as ἄλλως ὁμοιότητα, παραβάλλεσθαι, ἀλληλεπί, ἀλληλού), and therefore more likely to have come into our Homeric texts from Hdt., than the converse.' But (i) there is no reason to suppose that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed. There may have been no conscious imitation at all. A writer saturated with Homeric phraseology would naturally and even unintentionally reproduce
language and dialectical forms Herodotus may with justice be entitled μόνος Ὀμηρικῶτατος.

(2) The occurrence of Atticisms in the text of Herodotus does not raise such a difficult question as the point which has just been discussed. Of the instances which are to be found (either actually read in the text or occurring among the various readings) on almost every page of the work a very considerable proportion no doubt is to be ascribed to the ignorance of copyists or the perverted ingenuity of grammarians. That such corruptions existed and that such emendations were attempted, in ancient times, we learn from the statement of Porphyrius quoted on p. lvi. And modern critics are to be found who would have us correct over again the supposed corrections of their Alexandrian predecessors, and reconstruct the text in accordance with a preconceived Ionic standard. A view, such as that maintained by Dindorf¹, assumes that a corruption of the text is the only possible cause which can explain the occurrence of an Attic form. Yet the close relationship which we know to have existed between the old Attic² and the Ionic

¹ In the work mentioned on p. liii.

² Hermogenes (de Thucyd. Histor. judicium, 23) speaks of τὴν ἀρχαῖαν Ἀττιδα, μεγάλα τινὰς ἔχοντας διαφοράς παρὰ τὴν Ἰδα. The following are some of the points in which the Attic of Thucydides agrees with the Ionic of Herodotus and differs from the Attic of later writers:—a fondness for the collocations ἐς, e.g. ἄρσην (ἲρσην), θαρσέω (ἀρρην and θαρρεῖν in Plato)—and ὅς, e.g. τάσων and the like (τάσω in Plato)—the use of ἐς and ἀει (Marcellinus says that Thucydides ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρηται τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἀττιδα, ἐτερ τὴν διάθεσσον τὴν 'αν διὰ τοῦ α γράφῃ, 'αεί' λέγων. The tragedians have these forms as well as ἐς and ἀει)—the use of κλησαί (Had. κλησαί—Photius says κλησαί οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσιν' οὖτω καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ καὶ θουκιδίδης)—the use of the Ionic genitive in some proper names (e.g. Ἄφιτιος, 1. 64. 3)—a carelessness occasionally about hiatus (e.g. μέχρι, ἄχρι, οὖτω before
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dialects renders the use of Atticisms by Herodotus much less strange than it would otherwise have been. The Attic of Aeschylus and Thucydides is equally with the Ionic of Herodotus descended from that earlier Ionic dialect, which has been preserved to us in the Iambics of Archilochus and the elder Simonides; and it is quite conceivable that some of the so-called Atticisms in the prose of Herodotus may be forms which the two later dialects have derived in common from the earlier one. At any rate, if we are prepared to accept the statement of Hermogenes, already quoted, that the Herodotean dialect was πουκάη, the affinity between the old Attic and Ionic, and the residence of Herodotus at Athens, are causes quite sufficient to account for the admixture of Attic (as well as of Epic) forms in his original text.

(3) The number of Doric forms employed by Herodotus is very small. There seems in fact to be some reason for thinking that one result of the exclusion of Halicarnassus from the Dorian Hexapolis\(^1\) was the gradual decay of the Doric dialect of the original settlers, and the adoption of one or other of the local varieties of Ionic\(^2\). However this may be, with the

a vowel, μετὰ Εὔδολας, ὅτῳ αὐλητῶν and the like)—and the use of some uncontracted forms (e.g. βορέας, εἰνὼν, πριακονταίης, προεγραφα and the like). See Poppo’s Thucydidès, Prolegom. i. 207, foll., from which the above instances are taken. In earlier times the resemblance between the two dialects was clearly much more strongly marked. Thus in a law of Solon quoted by Lysias (κατὰ Θεομ. p. 118, Bekk.), where the archaic diction is retained, we have some pure Ionic forms: ὅσι δὲ πεφασμέναις πολοῦται (αἰ. πολοῦται), καὶ οἰκίων [ἐκπι] βλάβης τὴν θυλην (Telfy conj. τὴν διπλήν) εἶναι φειδεῖν. Lysias adds, by way of commentary, τὸ μὲν πεφασμένως ἐντὶ φανερὰς, πολείται δὲ βαδίζει, τὸ δὲ οἰκίως θεράπωτος. Schäfer thinks that instances occur of the retention of the Ionic diacesis (διεται for διέται) even in Aristophanes and Xenophon, but the examples cited are so few that it is rather difficult to believe in the genuineness of the readings. See Schäfer’s edition of Gregorius Corinthius, (Lips. 1811) p. 431.

\(^1\) See i. 144.

\(^2\) This is maintained by Stein, who refers in support of his view to a Halicarnassian inscription (discovered by Newton and assigned with con-
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eception of such Doric forms as are common to Ionic also\(^1\), and of the retention (or substitution) of ἄ for η (and εω) in several proper names\(^2\), hardly one indubitable Doricism is to be found throughout the Histories. If we are to suppose that Herodotus had spoken Doric in his early years, the completeness with which he has freed himself from provincialisms as regards the form of his composition affords an additional confirmation of his superiority to local prejudices and national partialities in the matter of his narrative.

The composite structure of the Herodotean dialect (resulting from the admixture of these Epic, Attic, and Doric forms), which has now been illustrated, leads us naturally to the conclusion that it was something sui generis. Attempts have indeed been made to refer it to one or other of the four sub-dialects, which Herodotus himself describes as in use among the Asiatic Ionians of his time\(^3\). Thus Suidas, who tells us that Herodotus removed from Halicarnassus to Samos, seems to draw the inference that he wrote in the Samian dialect\(^4\), and more recent authorities\(^5\), on the strength of his supposed indebtedness to Hecataeus, have assumed that his dialect corresponded to the Carian (or Milesian) variety. But the evidence attain-

siderable probability to the middle of the 5th century B.C.), in which the prevailing dialect is Ionic, though the form 'Ἄλκαρνα[τεω]' occurs once. Still the evidence seems to be hardly conclusive.

\(^1\) E. g. the contraction of εω into ευ, examples of which are occasionally to be found in Doric. The form σεω is used by Pindar, ὑπέντει and θηγάπεων by Theocritus.

\(^2\) E.g. Γυγδας (1. 14. 7), τιάρας (132. 2);—Θηρας, Θεασίθης, Ἀγίς (also Ἡγίς) names of Spartans,—'Ἀρσείς, Ἀμυλκας (dat. 'Ἀμυλκα), Σίκας (gen. Σίκα). Stein, who has collected these and other examples, notices that in many of these instances the practice of Herodotus is in harmony with that of Attic writers. We also find γαμόρου (for γεωμόρου) VII. 155. 2; Νικόλας (for Νικόλεως) 137. 3; Δακρίνης (for Δεωκρίνης) I. 152. 4; Δευτυχίδης (for Δευτυχίδης) VI. 55. 1.

\(^3\) I. 142.

\(^4\) ἐν οὖν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τῆν 'Ιάδα ἄκηθη διδελκετον.

able does not bear out either of these theories, and the \textit{a priori} improbability of the adoption by Herodotus of a \textit{purely provincial} dialect in all its \textit{minutiae} is very great. It is safer to suppose that the dialect of the earlier \textit{λογογράφοι} (which forms without doubt the basis of Herodotus' language\textsuperscript{8}), though originally perhaps identical with the Milesian, had become in time, through the modifications of successive writers, an artificial compound, and that thus a \textit{literary} dialect had been produced, distinct from any of the spoken varieties of Ionic, and employed more or less by all the prose-writers of the age without much regard to their place of abode or birth.

Whether the nature of this literary dialect—the pure Ionic groundwork, which Herodotus has overlaid with Epic and Attic ornamentation—can with any degree of accuracy be ascertained, is a question on which opinions are divided. It has been already stated that little or no help towards the solution of this problem can be hoped for from the extant works or fragments of contemporary Ionic writers\textsuperscript{8}. But recent critics have attempted a solution from a minute study of the Herodotean text itself. This mode of investigation, commenced by Stru\textsuperscript{4}, and carried on by Dindorf\textsuperscript{6}, has been very

\textsuperscript{1} Bähr (Vol. IV. p. 459) gives an example or two of Samian forms, which are different from those employed by Herodotus. The apparently exaggerated language which Herodotus uses when mentioning the divergences of the four sub-dialects (\textit{δημολογεύοντι κατὰ γλώσσαν οὐδὲν}, i. 142. 6), and the sarcastic or hostile tone which he often adopts, when naming or referring to Hecataeus (e.g. II. 21; 45. 1; 143. 1; IV. 36. 2), are very much against the view that he selected for special imitation the diction or dialect of Hecataeus.

\textsuperscript{2} 'Recens Ias fundamentum Herodoteae dictionis.' Bredow.

\textsuperscript{3} See p. xliii.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Quaest. de dial. Herod. Specimina} I. II. III. 1818. Struve only worked out three points, the use of \textit{ὅρις} and \textit{ὅσ}, the declension of nouns in -\textit{ευς}, and the orthography of \textit{θώμα}, \textit{τώντα}, etc. An example of his method of investigation has been given on p. xliii.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Praefat. ad Herodotum, ed. Didot.} 1844. Dindorf is much more arbitrary and inconsistent than Bredow in his determination of the right Ionic forms.
greatly developed by Bredow\textsuperscript{1}, whose conclusions have been almost unhesitatingly adopted by some of the more recent German editors\textsuperscript{2}. A short account and criticism of his method may here be given.

Bredow's fundamental axiom—the assumption of which alone renders the adoption of the method possible—is that Herodotus never used two forms of the same word\textsuperscript{3}. While allowing that in some cases Herodotus used Attic, and in other Epic forms, he refuses to admit that the 'variety' in Herodotus, to which ancient critics refer—what is called by Dionysius of Halicarnassus \( \eta \tau \omega \varsigma \chi \mu \mu \alpha \nu \iota \mu \omega \varsigma \mu \omega \nu \tau \omega \kappa \lambda \iota \) —can possibly imply that he used Epic, Attic, and Ionic forms of the same word indiscriminately. This principle laid down, the method proceeds by a collection and enumeration of all the instances in which any particular word or class of words—of doubtful form—occurs throughout the work. The preponderance of MS. authority is noticed in each case, so that at last a balance can be struck, and the right form ascertained by a sort of arithmetical process. The form thus established may, according to Bredow, be safely restored even in passages where the MSS. are unanimous against it\textsuperscript{4}.

\textsuperscript{1} Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herod. Libri quatuor. 1846.
\textsuperscript{2} Notably by Stein. Bähr, while altering in accordance with Bredow's views many forms in his 2nd edition (on which the text of the present edition is based), retains his independence of judgment. Thus (to take a few out of a very large number of examples) he reads \( \delta \rho \mu \epsilon \omega \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \) (not \( \delta \rho \mu \epsilon \beta \mu \epsilon \mu \nu \)) and the double forms \( \epsilon \tau \epsilon \alpha \tau \alpha , \epsilon \tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \tau \) - \( \theta \epsilon \omega \), \( \theta \epsilon \epsilon \omega \) - \( \tau \rho \epsilon \tau \omega \), \( \tau \rho \epsilon \tau \omega \) etc.
\textsuperscript{3} 'Quum minime nobis statuere liceat Herodotum idem vocabulum vocabulorumque genus modo hac modo illa forma usurpasser,' p. 87.
\textsuperscript{4} An example of the application of the method will supply the place of a longer description. Thus the question is raised (p. 104), whether \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \) or \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \) is the 'right' Herodotean form. We find that in seven passages all the MSS. have \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \), and in 25 passages the better (or the majority of) MSS. and the 'more intelligent' editors read \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \). On the other hand, in nine places all the MSS. have \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \). Now we know that Attic writers used \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \) (as also \( \tau \alpha \omega \tau \nu \) and \( \tau \omega \omega \omega \tau \nu \)), and we know that Hdt. used \( \tau \omega \nu \tau \) (not \( \tau \omega \nu \tau \)), the MSS. being on this point almost
Bredow's method—adopted in its entirety—seems unsatisfactory for the following reasons:—

(1) No evidence whatever is adduced for the assumption of the invariability of Herodotean forms. Bredow says that the fluctuation of Homeric forms is to be explained by the exigencies of metre,—an explanation which cannot (he adds) be applied to the case of a prose-writer like Herodotus. Yet it is probable that in Greek prose, and especially in early Greek prose, recognized laws of rhythm existed, however difficult it may be for us to detect them at the present day. And apart from any considerations of euphony, sufficient reasons may be found for variety of usage, in the length of time during which Herodotus was probably engaged on his work, in the cosmopolitan freedom from any one special dialect which his extended travels probably gave him, and in the fact that an unprinted literature allows much latitude in questions of orthography.

(2) The positive evidence (derived from the MSS.) for an absence of uniformity has some weight, though perhaps not much. Bredow points out at great length the worthlessness of the existing MSS.: yet he practically treats a majority of the MSS. as infallible.

everywhere unanimous. Hence we are justified in concluding that τωοῦρο is everywhere the true reading, more especially because the very MSS. which have τωοῦρον in some places have τωοῦρο in others. The foregoing is a favourable example of the method, since the voice of the MSS. is tolerably decided, and the analogy of τωοῦρο is certainly a strong one. Yet even here the question suggests itself:—Why should not Hdt. have used both forms?

1 Mure thinks it 'certain that, even in prose composition, the delicate ear of the Hellenes was susceptible to the nicer modifications of metrical cadence.' Bähr quotes Meierotto (sur Herodote, Memoire de l'Académie royale de Berlin, 1792, p. 596): 'peut-on conclure qu'il suit ici une règle générale, l'usage reçu, sa langue, son dialecte, ou plutôt ne faudra-t-il pas dire qu'il consulte son oreille et la suite?' So Quintilian says, 'in Herodoto cum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa διδακτος habet eam juovindatatem, ut latentes etiam numeros complexa videatur.' Inst. Oral. IX. 4. 18.
(3) In some cases the MS. authority is so evenly balanced that Bredow is obliged, inconsistently with his original premiss, to allow the possibility of alternative forms. Bähr fairly pushes this admission to its logical conclusion. If Herodotus may be supposed to have written πλέεω as well as πλώεω, εἰπεῖν as well as εἰπαί, and so on, why are we to deny the possibility of other alternative forms, where the verdict of the MSS. is rather more pronounced?

There are many instances, however, in which Bredow's corrections are almost certain, and their number will no doubt be increased by fresh collations of the MSS., minute accuracy of collation being absolutely necessary for the employment of the method. The foregoing remarks are only intended to deprecate an exaggerated idea of the value of his mode of investigation and an unqualified acceptance of its results.

After all we must be content to leave in uncertainty many questions connected with the dialect of Herodotus. That we possess his writings, as he left them, in most material points, seems certain. When compared with the doubts which exist about many of the Platonic dialogues and Aristotelian treatises, the difficulties of dialect and orthography, which beset the text of Herodotus, sink into comparative unimportance.

1 See e.g. Quaest. de dialecto Herod. specimen 1. Gotting, 1859, by Abich, who clears up some points about the use of contracted and uncontracted forms of verbs in -τω, which had been left unnoticed by Bredow.
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At least thirty MSS. of Herodotus are known to be in existence, though not all of them have been collated, and some only contain portions of the work. Unfortunately with this material there is no hope of its ever being possible to restore the original text in its verbal integrity. All the evidence attainable tends to depreciate the value of the existing MSS. (1) We find that words, which occur in quotations from Herodotus made by the Greek grammarians, are not read in any of the existing MSS.\footnote{See e.g. notes on II. 133. 4; 158. 5.} (2) We know that Aristotle had the reading Θουρίου (instead of 'Ἀλκαρνησσέως) in the opening words of Book I. No trace of this variation of reading is now to be found in the MSS. (3) We find instances of undoubted corruptions of the text common to all the existing MSS.\footnote{Bühr quotes amongst others ἄρωμενοι, I. 27; δεικνύουσε, IV. 79; δοταλάτας, VII. 89; εγκεκρημένοι, VII. 145. Opinions may differ about some of these particular examples, but that instances are to be found is certain:—e.g. Bekker's correction τῶρ ἀνακαλοῦν (at II. 39. 1) is certain. Yet all the existing MSS. appear to read τῶρν καλοῦν.} (4) We are unable to discover the existence of any law among the MSS. with regard to the use of the different dialectical forms. Two MSS. which agree about a form in one passage will differ in another. The same MSS. will employ different forms of the same word within the space of a few lines. It may safely be pronounced impossible to restore with certainty the original dialect of Herodotus from a study of the existing MSS. (5) We learn from Porphyrius\footnote{Quaest. Hom. ch. 8: ἐν τοῖς Φιλήμονοι συμμίκτους περὶ Ἡροδοτοῦ διορ-} (born about 230 A.D.) that
corruptions were believed by the Alexandrian grammarians to exist in the text of their day. We do not know whether we possess any of their emendations, but it is only natural that the corruptions should have largely increased in the period between their age and the tenth century A.D., the date of our oldest existing MSS. (6) All the existing MSS. are cursives. They are thus liable to all the additional errors which inevitably result from the transcription of cursive manuscripts by careless or ignorant copyists.

It has been maintained that there are traces in our existing copies of two original (or at any rate very early) recensions (διακειματικά) of the work. It has also been maintained that all our existing copies belong to one family of MSS. merely, and that one or more other families have been altogether lost. Both views are tenable, but neither can be said to be proved. If we examine the readings of the existing MSS., as they are, without attempting to determine their ultimate source, two classes of MSS. may be readily distinguished, though there will still remain copies which cannot be assigned to either of these groups.

Θώματος ὃ γραμματικὸς διακειμένος περάται καὶ Ὀμηρικά των σαφηνέων. Ἡ τοῦτο δὴ θεραπείας τις οὐχ Ἡρόδοτος φησίν ἀμφότερα γεγονέναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν γραφεῖα φησὶ διαμαρτυρεῖ παρεμβαλόντα τὸ ἱερὸν. τολλὰ δὲ φέρεσθαι μεχρὶ νῦν ἀμφότερα κατὰ τὴν Ἡρόδοτον συγγραφήν. For a detailed account of the probable corruptions, lacunae, interpolations, glosses, and dialectical fluctuations of the existing MSS., see Bredow: De diæcto Herodotoëa pp. 11—86. 'Could the young Thucydides,' he adds, 'hear Herodotus recited now from our present texts he would weep indeed, but tears of sorrow and not of joy.'

1 The characters of the Medicean are said sometimes to approximate to the uncial form.

2 Uncials seldom have any accents, breathings, or stops. This fact must be borne in mind in using the appended table of readings. The variations at I. 7. 4; II. 116. 5; III. 31. 2; 32. 4; 174. 2 are interesting from this point of view.

3 The following account is mainly taken from Abich's monograph: De codicium Herodoti fide atque auctoritate. Berolini (1869?). See also Philologus, Vol. xii. pp. 204, 207.
1. The more trustworthy of the two classes comprises the following:—

M. *Codex Mediceus.* At Florence in the Laurentian library, first collated by J. Gronovius (1673), and since by Abicht and Stein—without doubt the most valuable of the existing MSS. It is written on parchment, without any abbreviations, and in an exceedingly clear hand. In its use of the *iota ascripta,* and in its omission of all punctuation or separation of words, it approximates to the uncial type. Assigned to the 10th century.

F. *Florentinus s. Shellershemianus.* Also at Florence. Discovered by the Baron von Schellersheim, and first collated by Schweighäuser about the beginning of the present century; since by Stein. Abicht pronounces it to be from the same (not as Schw. thought from an earlier) source as the Medicean. Written on parchment (rather carelessly in parts). Probably of the 10th century.

P. *Angelicanus s. Cardinaleis Passionei.* At Rome (S. Agostino). First collated by Wesseling about the middle of the last century; since by Stein. Written on parchment, with the heading ἡρῴδορου ἱστορία, ἦ ιστορία αὐτοῦ διὰ μονεμών. About the 12th century.

K. *Askewianus s. Askewii.* In the public library at Cambridge. Collated by Wesseling. It does not contain the first 78 chapters of Book I., and begins with the words μάχη σφέων ἢν ἀφὶ λειψῶν (i. 79. 4). Written on silky paper 'in the small cursive hand of the 15th century.'

N. Besides the above, Abicht includes in this class four other Florentine MSS. One of these has been collated for the first time by Stein. Its readings appear in a majority of cases to agree with those of the aforementioned MSS. Abicht, who looked at the readings of all four in one or two test passages, pronounces their collation to be useless.

2. The second class of MSS.—which Abicht pronounces to be very inferior in value—includes the following:—

S. *Sancrostianus.* Formerly the property of Archbishop Sancroft, and now in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Quoted by Wess. under the title *Arch.* afterwards collated by Gaisford. Of the 13th century.

1 e.g. it reads ἀφέλει for ἀφθελε, i. 19. 2; ψυχής for τοῦχης, 118. 3; δικαιώτατον for δικαιωτάτον, 129. 4; ἀριστα for ἀχάριτα, 207. 2.

2 Wess. however calls it 'codex annorum ferme quingentorum.'

3 He quotes no readings from it in Books VIII. and IX.

4 Stein attaches more importance than Abicht to the readings of this class.
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V. Vindobonensis. In the Imperial library at Vienna. Collated by Wesseling. Probably of the 14th century. 'Later than the latest Florentine MS.' Abicht.

The agreement of these two MSS. and their divergences from those of the former class are very striking. (1) There are several passages in which they have undoubtedly preserved the true reading, while the others are hopelessly corrupt. (2) In an enormous number of instances (Abicht says 600) they exhibit faulty cases, numbers, genders, tenses, moods, &c. while the others are correct. (3) They omit nine passages in Book I, and one in Book VIII, which are found in all the MSS. of the former class. These omissions (often extending over several chapters) are sometimes replaced by a short summary, and in all cases the passages are skilfully pieced together.

T. Abicht also includes in this class six Vatican MSS., one of which has been collated for the first time by Stein. According to Abicht the agreement of this MS. with S. and V. is so complete, that the collation has been useless. But this statement is hardly borne out by the readings given in Stein's tables. The other Vatican MSS. are said by Abicht to belong to the same family.

Rom. Romanus s. Mureti. In the Jesuit College at Rome, inscribed "ex bibliotheca Mureti." Discovered in 1868, and Book I. collated. It contains nearly the same lacunae as S. and V.; also the same fragments of I. 137—177, and many of the same corruptions. Written on parchment, and probably of the 14th century.

Vall. The MS. from which Valla made his Latin translation (1474). This is not now to be found, but to judge from the lacunae in Valla's translation, it must have belonged to the same family as S. and V.

3. There remain several MSS. which sometimes favour the readings of one class and sometimes of the other, or which for

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1 e.g. at II. 79. 2 M.F.P.K. have ἄλα τε ἄπαξ ἀ ἄστι, S.V. ἄλα τε ἄπαξ ἀ ἄστι, at II. 19. 3 M.P.K. have πέλας, S.V.F. πέλας.

2 The passages are I. 46—52; 56—68; 77—79; 92, 3; 96—100 (summarised); 131—5; 138—178; 181—184; 186; 199; VIII. 77—84. Only the more important of these omissions are noticed in the appended table. It will be seen that in the majority of cases the passages omitted are episodes.

3 He quotes no readings from Book V.
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other reasons cannot be assigned to either class. Of these the most important is

A. or a. Parisinus. Collated by Gorgiades for Schweighäuser, and since by Stein. Probably of the 12th century. In the first book it almost always agrees with M.F.P.K., but more rarely in the second, and the remaining books exhibit very many of the corrupt readings of S. and V. This MS. is quoted by Wess. under the title C.

There are five other Paris MSS. (B. C. D. E. F., or b. c. d. e. f.) of no special note—the last two mere fragments.

The remaining MSS. are—

G. Ambrosianus, of which Stein has collated Books I. and II.

U. Urbinas, of which he has collated Book V.

Ven. Venetus, the readings of which for the first 32 chapters of Book I. appear in Wesseling’s edition. Bähr classes it with the Vienna MS.

R. Monasterii S. Remigii. Collated by Wess. It only contains Books I, II, and III. down to ch. 70, and agrees on the whole rather more with M.F.P.K. than with S.

Eton. An Eton MS. collated to some extent by Gale. A few readings are quoted in Gaisford’s edition. Of little value according to Abicht.

Br. A paper MS. in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, containing the first 91 chapters of Book I.; collated by Long.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford contains three MSS.

(1). No. 114 (Cod. Barocc.). On paper, of the 15th century, containing only fragments of Book I.

(2). No. 200 (Cod. Barocc.). Written on paper in a very clear hand, and dated 1515. It begins with ἀλλὰ θεῶν κοινότισ (I. 45. 3), and ends with καταγραφή τοῦθε (v. 92. 5).

(3). No. 102 (Cod. Miscell.). On paper. About the end of the 15th century.

None of these have apparently been collated. The present editor, after an inspection of (2) and (3), has no hesitation in assigning (3) to the same family as S. and V. Out of a considerable number of test passages examined, its readings in only one instance differed from S. It also appears to have almost exactly the same omissions and substituted summaries in Book I. The readings of (2) corresponded with those of b. and d. in a majority of the passages examined. It has apparently the

1 At I. 24. 13 it reads ὅ ὑπάρχει, where S. omits ὅ.
same omissions and summaries, and differs notably from S. in the retention of i. 56—68. Where the readings of b. and d. varied, it almost invariably followed d. 1

One other MS. is sometimes mentioned, the Codex Palatinus (described by Kreuzer, Meletemata, Part i. p. 98). It contains extracts (as a rule, quite short) from various authors, and amongst others from Herodotus. Abicht pronounces it to be valueless.

**TABLE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VARIATIONS OF READING**

**IN BOOKS I. AND II.**

The readings before the brackets are those of Bähr's second edition (1856—61).
Where the present edition departs from Bähr's text, an asterisk is prefixed.

The readings of the MSS. are given on the authority of Gaisford—who put together the results of Wesseling's and Schweighäuser's collations, and collated S. afresh—and of Stein—who has collated M.F.P.A. afresh, and N.T.G. for the first time. Where no authority is stated for the reading of the text, it is meant that this is also the reading of the MSS., or of a considerable majority of them. The names attached to the corrections are in each case those of the first proposers of the emendation, so far as they can be ascertained.

This table does not include any variations of reading, the adoption of which turns wholly on questions of orthography or dialect. Many other variations, which do not illustrate any rule of syntax, and do not materially affect the sense of the passage in which they occur, have also been omitted for the sake of brevity. Nor has it been thought necessary, as a rule, to insert corrections which are pronounced unnecessary in the commentary, or which would have been so pronounced, had they been mentioned there.

**BOOK I.**

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<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 At II. 10. 3, however, it reads ἐπταστόμον with b., where d. reads περ-ταστόμον.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

Ch. 6
9 2 πειρόμενοι λέγω λόγον] F.R. a.c. πειρόμενοι λόγον (omitting λέγω) F.S.
16 1 Σαδωνίτης] Σαρδωνίτης Br.
18 2 Σαδωνίτης γὰρ οὗτος] N. Σαρδωνίτης οὗτος γὰρ Μ. F. G. T.
24 12 ἢτι] δτὶ Br. ('cf. δτίναι ἔπαινασθαί, II. 121. 12' Long).
 dezir menoi Schw. ἀρώμενα Schäfer (omitting εὐχεθαί). ἀρώ-
 μενοι Reiske. αἰωρεμένους Toup. αἰωρεμένοι Werfer.
30 4 εὐθεῖα] Placed in brackets by Stein.
32 10 ἀνερο] Two Vat. MSS. ἀνερο d. The rest ἀνερο.
33 ἀμαθεία] ἀμαθῆς S. Vall.
41 3 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτῳ] πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο F.S.a.c.
45 3 μὲν νυν] μὲν νυν S., which also inserts θάψα after ἵν, and omits most of the rest of the chapter.
46 1 καταβαλεῖν] M.S. and the majority of MSS. Others καταβαλεῖν.
2 τῶν τε ἐν "Ελληνι] τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖ (Δελφί) S.V., which omit from Αἰβήν to the end of ch. 52 (see 53. 1).
49 καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ τοῦτο F.a.b.c.d.
50 3 τρίτων ἡμιταλαυτών] Schw. Duo talenta cum dimidio Vall. The MSS. have τρίτα ἡμιτάλαυτα.
53 1 τοῖς δὲ] V. and S. have τοῖς δὲ πειρομένους κηρύξε μετὰ διώ-
 ρων τοιάδια ἐνετέλεστο ἐρωτάν, et.
56 3 — end of ch. 68] Omitted by S.V. (see 69. 1).
58 3 πρὸς δὴ ὡς] ώς δὴ ὡς e.
63 4. *ἐκαστο] Schäfer. ἐκαστον a. (with σ written above the termin-
ination of the word.) The rest ἐκαστο.
68 7 πειράτο] Gaisford. ἐπιπειράτο Schw. ἐπιπέρατο Stein. The MSS. have ἐπιπειράτο, except c., which has ἐπειράτο.
69 1 S. connects as follows with 56. 2: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἐς Ἡπα-
 την ἀγγέλου ἕνα τε φέρων τα δώρα τε φέρων κ.τ.λ.
73 4 ὄργην ἄκρον] b.d.e. Others ὄργην οὐκ ἄκρος.
5 ἑβουλεύσαντο] The majority of MSS. have ἑβουλεύεσαν.
84 5 οὗτοι] Reiske. The MSS. have οὕτωι.
7 *κελεύει] H. Stephens. The MSS. have κελεύει,
90 5 τούτων] b. τούτῳ F.P.K.S.d. τούτῳ a.c.R.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

Ch. 91 5 ἐπε τὰ ἐπε] τὰ ἐπε omitted by S.V. The first ἐπε omitted by Valck.
93 1 γῆ] γῆ H. Schäfer. S.b.d. omit ch. 93 and the first sentence of ch. 94.
95 3 — end of ch. 100] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which give a short summary instead.
105 5 ἡ θεός] Wesseling (from Longinus περὶ ὑψ., ch. 27). Most MSS. have ὣ θεός.
106 1 ἐπέβαλλον] ἐπέβαλλον F. ἐπέβαλλον K. Hermann.
107 3 ὑπερβέμενος] H. Stephens. The MSS. have ὑπερβέμενος.
115 4 δὲ] F.a.c. The rest δὲ.
116 1 *ἐλευθερωτέρῃ] Portus. The MSS. have ἐλευθερωτέρῃ.
5 μονοθέντα τάδε] P.V. a.c.R. μονοθέντα δὲ, τάδε b.d. μονοθέντα τάδε (sic) S. μονοθέντα τάδε M.K. μονοθέντα τάδε (prima manu) τάδε F.
125 1 εὑρισκὲ τῇ] K. εὑρισκὲ S.b. The rest εὑρισκέται.
129 3 τὸ πρῆμα δὴ ἐωτοῦ] S. τὸ πρῆμα ἐωτοῦ δὴ F. and probably M.
131 3 — 136. 1. incl.] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which however contain one or two fragments from the intervening chapters.
134 4 πάντα τὰ] Valck. The MSS. omit the article.
133 3 οὐκ ἀλέσι] So (or οὐκαλέσι) M.F.K. οὐ καλοῦσι c. οὐκ ἀλέσι (or perhaps ἀλάσι) Bekker.
134 4 τῶν λεγόμενον] Abresch. The MSS. have τῶ λεγόμενον. τῶν λεγόμενων Stein.
138 1 χρόσι] From this to the end of ch. 177 omitted by S.V.b.d., with the exception of one or two short sentences.
3 πολλοὶ ἐξελαίνουσιν πολλοὶ καὶ ἔλαίνουσι F. πάλιν ἔξελαίνουσι Coray. πολλῷ κραυγῇ ἔλαίνουσι Steger. For other corrections see note on passage.
146 3 ὁΡχομένοι] Palmer. ὁΡχομένοι σφι H. Herold. The MSS. have ὁΡχομένωι.
4 Ἀθηναῖοι] Ἀθηναῖον Schäfer.
163 3 Μῆδοι] Μᾶδων Wesseling.
165 4 ἀναφηκόν] ἀναφηκόν Reiske. ἀναφηκόν H. Herold. ἀναφηκόν Krüger.
168 4 ἐκτίσαντο] ἐκτίσαν Schw. ἐκτίσαντο Larcher.
169 2 ταῦτα] ταῦτα Reiske.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

BOOK II.

1 2 ταύτης δὲ] ταύτης δὴ Τ.Μ.Γ.  
2 1 Ψαμμήθιου] Μ.Κ.Ρ. Ψαμμήθιου Φ.α.β. Ψαμμήθιου Φ.α.β. Ψαμμήθιου V.S.  
9 πρεσβυτέρους] πρῶτους V.S. Ετών. b.d.  
3 1 'Ηφαίστου ἐν] 'Ηφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μ.Φ.Γ.Τ.  
9 2 συντεθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι] Μ.Φ.Γ. Others συντεθέμενοι στάδιοι.  
10 1 εἴδοκε δὲ] δὲ omitted by Μ.Κ.  
2 3 ωτο[τ] M.Κ.α.β.ς. οὐ Ν.Σ.Τ.  
3 πενταστόμου] Μ.Κ.α.δ. επταστόμου S.V.Rb. F. has both readings.  
13 2 καταρρηψιμότητα] Μ.Φ.Γ. Others καταρρηψιμόητα.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

Ch. § 6

13 3 ἢ[F.S. The rest el.
4 *ἐνδιδῷ...αὐτοδῶ] Bredow. The MSS. ἐνδιδῷ...αὐτοδῷ.
15 1 τῷ δὴ F.a. τῷ δὲ S. The rest τῷ.
16 4 *τῆς Διήνις] R. τῆς Διήνις M.F.S.
17 5 τὰυτή F.S.a.b.c. τάυτη M.P.K.
19 5 τὸ λεγόμενα] P.S.V. τὸ λεγόμενα M.F.K.
22 2 [τόσων] πέων] τόσων omitted by S.V. and the Paris MSS. πέων
omitted by F.P.K.
25 1 οὐκ ἠθένων ἠθέμων S.b. καὶ ἠθέμων (without οὐκ ἠθέμων) F.a.c.d.,
and apparently M.P.K.
28 2 ἀπηγμένα] Bredow. ἀπηγμένα S. The rest ἀπηγμένα.
30 4 ἄλλα] Bekker. ἄλλα δὲ the MSS.
31 2 τοσοῦτοι] Reiske. τοσοῦτοι V.S. The rest τοσοῦτοι.
32 4 ἡ τελευταὶ Wesseling. ἡ τελευταὶ τὰ Reiske. ἡ τελευταὶ
Schw. The older MSS. have ἡ τελευταῖ, the rest ἡ τελευταῖ,
except K., which has τελευταῖ.
35 1 πλεῦστα] M.F.P.K. πλέω S.V.R.
39 1 πῦρ δακαλών] Bekker. The MSS. have πῦρ καλοῦσι.¹
3 2 δὲ ἐκείνη] δὲ κείνη M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. δὲ ἐκείνη S.
dὲ κείνῃ Schw.
42 7 σφί[σφι] Stein.
45 3 βῶν] βῶ (sic) F. βῶν Valck.
63 5 *ἀλεξάταιοι] ἀλεξάταιοι S.V.
64 5 γένεα] τέλεα S.d.
70 2 οἱ δὲ θεοί] Omitted by S.V.d.
71 2 ἀκούσται] Omitted by Schäfer.
75 2 ἀκανθών] τῶν θεῶν M.F., but M. has ὀστῶν in the margin.
79 2 ἐν ἐστὶ] Wesseling. The MSS. have ἐνεστὶ.
3 ἔλαβον] Schw. The MSS. have ἔλαβον τὸ οἴσμα (or τοῦ οἴσμα).
81 3 οἱ Βαρμακατοί, οὖσι δὲ Αλγυρματοί] Omitted by M.F.P.K.
85 1 οἰκίσκων...οἰκίσκων] S. οἰκίσκων...οἰκίσκων P.K. οἰκίσκων...οἰκίσκων F.
86 10 θησαυρὸς] θησαυρὸς F.K. ἐν οἰκήματι...νεκρῶς is omitted by S.V.d.
87 2 τοῦ κλωστῆρας] τοῦ omitted by S.N.T.
91 1 φεύγουσι...μυθαμά] omitted by S.V.
2 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸ S.V.d.

¹ πῦρ καλοῦσι has been inadvertently retained in the text of the present edition.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

Ch. 3

94 2 "Ελληνι] Ελεσί S.
95 3 υν' αυτή] υν' αυτὸ F.S.V. υν' αυτῶν a.c.
97 4 οὐκ οὕτως] S.V. The rest have οὐδὲ οὕτως. οὐσί δὲ οὐ τῇ δὲ οὕτως Reiske. οὐσί δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως Coray.

5 δὲ] οὐ M.F.K.S.V.T.G. Others δὲ.
100 1 *βιβλίον] Bähr. βιβλίων S. βιβλίον F., the Paris MSS., and others. βιβλίων Ald., Schäfer.
103 2 καὶ προσώπατα] F.P. The rest have καὶ οὐ προσώπατα.
113 3 ὀνεύων] Bekker. The MSS. have ὀσεύω.
115 5 ἐκκλέψας] Omitted by S.b.d.
116 2 κατὰ γὰρ ἐπίσης ἐν Ἰλιδία] ἐν omitted by V. ἐπίσης Ἰλιδία S. For corrections see note on passage.
117 1 δηλοῖ] δῆλον Valck., who also places τὸ χωρίαν in brackets.
119 3 ἐκλ Διβίς] ἐκλ ἐκλ Διβίς Plutarch (de Herod. mar. 857 b).
121 12 ἐπαινεταί] ἐπαινετάδαι S.V. ἐπαινετάδαι b.d. ἐπαινετάδαι Long (cf. i. 24. 12).
30 ὦς τοῦ βασιλέος] M.P.K.V.S. ἐς F.a.c.R.
123 1 ὑπὲρ έκδοτων] υπὲρ έκδοτων V. περὶ έκδοτων d.
127 3 δι' οἰκοδομημένον] Schäfer. The MSS. have διοικοδομημένον.
4 εἰσὶν Εὐθυμήσια] εἰσὶν γῆς Εὐθυμήσια Valck.
135 2 'Ροδοκις] 'Ροδοκις Valck. 'Ροδόκις Schäfer.
136 4 μητρι[ αὐτής εκείνης] S.V. The rest have μητρι.
137 5 *γενομένων] S.V.T. The rest γενομένων.
6 *μὲν Βουβαστίας τόλμα] Elitz. ή μὲν Βουβαστίας τόλμα M.F.P.K. ή ἐν Βουβαστίας τόλμα S.V.R.
141 1 τῶν μαχιμων] τῶν μαχιμων οὐ τῷ μαχιμῷ οὐ τῷ τῶν μαχιμων Valck.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS. lxvii

Cn. §
141 5 γυμνῶν δυνάμων S.V.a.c.R. γυμνῶν ἀνύπαθων M.F.P.K. γυμνῶν καὶ ἀνύπαθων Wesseling.
143 2 ἰσαμάτα] ἰσαμάτα S.V.T.a.c.
145 4 ἐζηκοντα ἑτεὶα ἐπηκόθεν S. ἑτεὰ omitted by S. and others. ἐζηκοντα ἑτεα Wesseling.
5 κατὰ τοῦ] τοῦ omitted by b.d.N.S.V.T., and by a correction in F.
146 2 *[ἀλλοὺς] ἄνδρας γενομένους] ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους F. The majority of MSS. have ἄνδρας ἄλλους γενομένους. K. Hermann proposes to omit ἄλλους, as having arisen from ἄνους (i.e. ἄνθρωπους, a gloss on ἄνδρας). Wesseling reads τοὺς ἄλλους.
147 2 δυνάμει ἄριστος] S.V. Most MSS. have ἐς δυνάμει ἄριστος.
154 1 τοῖς συγκατεργασαμένοις] τοῖς Καροῖ τοῖς συγκατεργασαμένοις S. τοῖς συγκατεργασαμένοις P.
158 5 [ἄπαρτα] Schäfer from the Scholiast on Aristoph. Plut. 388. All the MSS. omit it.
159 2 Μαγνόλωφ] Μαγνόλωφ M.F.a.G. Μαγνόλωφ N.T.
160 1 [ἀνδρέσι] In very few MSS. Omitted by M.F.P.K.S.V.d.
168 4 [ἀλλοι] ἄλλοι read by S.V.T. Omitted by M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. Schw. suggests that χλιοὶ has dropped out.
169 3 οἰκείᾳ] οἰκείᾳ S. Blakesley suggests as the true reading ἐς τὰ οἰκεία, ἐκὼν having been originally ‘written on the margin as a gloss on οἰκεία.’
172 7 ἐκντοῦ] ἐκντοῦ S.T.
173 1 πληθώρησι] S.V. The rest πληθοῦσις.
4 ἐπεάν dè χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι] Omitted by M.F.P.K.a.c.
174 2 καὶ ἡλικετο] Valck. καὶ ἡλικετο Schw. καταλίκετο S.V. The rest καταλίκετο.
175 1 οὶ] oί Abresch.
 μεγάλου] μεγάλου Schäfer. Magno illi Vall.
ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

LIST OF EDITIONS.

The first edition of Herodotus was the Latin Translation of Laurentius Valla. Venice, 1474.

The first Greek edition was that of Aldus. Venice, 1502. The text of this edition was based principally on the Paris MSS.

Of the numerous editions which followed these the most important were those published by

J. Gronovius. In Greek and Latin. Leyden, 1715. This edition contains the first collation of the Medicean MS.

P. Wesseling. In Greek, with Latin notes and Valla’s Translation. Amsterdam, 1763. Wess. collated A.B.C.K.R.S.V.

The most important editions published in the present century are those of


(4) Bekker. Berlin, 1833.


(8) Krüger. Berlin, 1855. With very brief German notes.

(9) Stein. Berlin, 1856—62. With a German commentary. Ditto. 2nd ed. 1864—6. This edition contains notes by Dr Brugsch on Book II.


Of these the text of (3) is based on (2)—that of (4), (5), and (7) mainly on (3). (9) and (11) are based on independent collations. But a thoroughly satisfactory critical edition has not yet appeared. The commentaries of which most use has been made in the present edition are those of (5), (8),
(9), and (11). For a criticism of the more recent editions, see an article by Abicht, *Philologus*, Vol. xxii., p. 78 foll.

The best translations which have yet appeared are those of Larcher (in French, with a commentary, 1802), Isaac Taylor (1829), and Rawlinson (2nd ed. 1861). The last-named contains copious notes and appendices by the translator, Sir J. G. Wilkinson, and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

The following *subsidia* (among many that might be specified) may be recommended to the notice of students:—

Quaestiones criticæ de dialecto Herodotea Libri quattuor. *Bredow*. 1846.


The early volumes of Grote’s History of Greece.

Special *subsidia* for Book II.:—
Lobeck’s *Aglaophamus*. 1839.
ON THE EXISTING SUBDIVISIONS OF THE TEXT.

Though the oldest MSS. contain the present division of the text into nine books, named after the nine Muses, we find no trace of any such division in the work itself. Herodotus only mentions different λόγοι (i. 75. i, n.), by the accumulation of which the work seems to have been constructed, much as we may suppose the Homeric poems to have been built up by the accumulation of different ῥαψίδαι or 'cantos,'—and with the same possibility in each case of indefinite expansion by the insertion of new episodes. The vagueness of the references (ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστεθε λόγοις) prevents us from supposing that the separate λόγοι were all either numbered (we have twice ὁ τρίτος τῶν λόγων) or named (like ἐν τοῖς Διβυθοῖς λόγοις, II. 161. 3) by Herodotus. The division into books is first mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (fl. c. 8 B.C.), who says that Herodotus γέγραφε ἐν βιβλίοις ἑννέα (XI. 37), and Josephus (c. 70 A.D.) quotes Herodotus ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν (Archaeol. x. 1. 4), while Pausanias (c. 180 A.D.) retains the Herodotean phraseology ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Κροίσον (III. 2. 3). The existing division was probably due to the Alexandrian grammarians (Bähr), and shews, on the whole, taste and judgment, though the clauses introduced by μέν at the end of the 7th and 8th books illustrate the difficulty of finding breaks in the narrative towards its close. The
‘Muses’ are first mentioned in connection with Herodotus by Lucian (fl. second cent. A.D.), who seems to consider the title a result of the Olympic recitation: οὖ θεατὴν ἀλλ’ ἀγωνιστήν Ὄλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἐαυτόν, ἤδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τῶν παρόντων, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθήναι τὰς βιβλίους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὔτὰς (Herod. 1). The order in which the Muses are invariably placed is derived from Hesiod (Theog. 77).

The existing division into chapters, which does not appear in the MSS. or earlier editions, was first introduced by Jungermann, who published a reprint of H. Stephen’s edition (Frankfort 1608), and apologises in his preface for the insertion of ‘capita sive temematia.’ The first five lines of Book I. are not included in the numbering of the chapters, and form the προοίμιον of the work: cf. Dionys. Halicarn. (de praecl. Hist. p. 767 Reiske), τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιον τε καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας—words which have led some commentators to suppose absurdly that there was originally an epilogue to the work, which has been lost.

The numbering of the sections in the present edition has been taken, for the sake of convenience of reference, from the Oxford text published by Parker, 1856.
BOOK I.

SUMMARY.

B.C.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>The feud between Asiatics and Europeans was of long standing, according to the Persian and Phoenician legends concerning the rape of Io, of Europa, and of Helen: but in later times was certainly caused by the conduct of Croesus, King of Lydia, towards the Greeks. Hence Hdt. narrates</th>
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<td>The History of Lydia</td>
<td>6—94</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6—13</td>
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<td>560—546</td>
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<tr>
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<td>He converses with Solon</td>
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<tr>
<td>The retribution which befalls him: the story of Atyss and Adrastus</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He resolves to attack the Persians, and to that end proves the Greek oracles: the answers received from Delphi</td>
<td>56—58</td>
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<tr>
<td>He enquires which is the most powerful Greek state</td>
<td>59—64</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Digression concerning the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians: the Dorian and Ionian races)</td>
<td>65—68</td>
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<tr>
<td>The state of affairs at Athens at this time: the three Athenian factions, and the despotism of Pisistratus</td>
<td>69, 70</td>
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<tr>
<td>The state of affairs at Sparta at this time: the reforms of Lycurgus, and the wars with Tegea</td>
<td>71—80</td>
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<tr>
<td>He makes an alliance with the Lacedaemonians</td>
<td>81—83</td>
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<tr>
<td>He invades Cappadocia, and after an indecisive engagement with the Persians, returns to Sardis, where he is besieged by Cyrus</td>
<td>84—91</td>
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<tr>
<td>He asks the Lacedaemonians for help: the feud between Sparta and Argos at this time, and the battle of the three hundred</td>
<td>92—93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus takes Sardis, but spares the life of Croesus</td>
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SUMMARY.

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ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΤΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΤ Ἀλικαρνησσεός ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἦδεν
ὅσ ἡμεῖς τὰ γεγομένα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξήτηλα
γένεται, μῆτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστὰ, τὰ μὲν
"Ελληνις, τὰ δὲ βαρβάρουι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλαθ ἑγένεται,
tὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι᾽ ἦν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλωισι.

Περσῶν μὲν νυν οἱ λόγοι Φοινίκας αἰτίους φασὶν.

Ἀλικαρν.[] Aristotle had the reading θουπλοῦ in his copy of Hdt. (Rhet. III. 9. 2), and Plutarch (about A.D. 110) says πολλαὶ μεταγράφουσι θουπλοῦ. (De Exsil. 13.) The two readings do not necessarily imply two separate editions of the work.

Ἡδὲ 'You have before you the setting forth of the researches of Η.' Earlier chroniclers had begun their works in a similar way:—Εκείνους δὲ μεθετέαται, Τίμαιος δὲ Λοκρὸς τάδε ἔφα (Müller, Fr. Hist. Gr.). Cf. Thuc. I. 1. 1. ἱστορί, here not distinguished from δῆσις, as at II. 99. 1, denotes the results of enquiry: cf. οὐ γὰρ ἐξέγραμεν ἐσ ἱστορίης λόγον, VIII. 96. 2, 'I am not driven into telling the story.' The common title of the work among the Greeks was Ἴρω ιστοριάς.

𝔀δὲ] depends on the verbal notion in ἀπόδεξις.

τά γεν. εξ ἀνθρ.] εξ denotes the agent, a use almost peculiar to Ionic writers and very common in Hdt. There is no tautology in the use of τά γεγομένα and ἔργα. Hdt. intends to divide the subject-matter of his narrative under two heads, (1) human actions, the ordinary subject-matter of history proper (Stein compares τὰ γεγομένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, used of the Sicilian expedition, Thuc. VI. 88. 7), and (2) the marvels to be found in different countries, whether natural or artificial (here esp. the latter): compare the use of ἔργον, 93. 1; II. 35. 1; 101. 1. This second branch appears mainly in the shape of digressions (προσθήκας, IV. 30. 1). See in Bk. I., chs. 93, 177—187.

τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ] Stein unnecessarily refers these words to ἱστ. ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, which virtually = Ἵρω τήν ἱστορίαν ἀνεδέσατο, and thus takes τά ἄλλα in apposition. The words will refer equally well to τά γεγομένα, but prob. no definite substantive is meant to be supplied. The remote causes of the war (i.e. the rise and progress of the Lydian and Persian empires, and the early history of Athens and Sparta) are contained in Bks. I.—IV.; the immediate cause (i.e. the Ionian revolt) in Bk. V.

CH. 1. § 1. οἱ λόγοι] simply = 'the

1—2
The λόγος is thus the ράψιδος of prose composition and distinct from the λογοτοίς (e.g. Hecateus, ii. 143. 1) or λογογράφος (Thuc. i. 21. 1), who selected a definite portion of the legends for his subject, and endeavoured to harmonize and combine.

§ 2. 'Ερυθρός κ. θ.] Not only what we now call the Red Sea, but also the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean (202. 8; ii. 11. 1; 102. 2), in contradistinction to the Mediterranean (τήδε τήν θ. Cf. Lat. nostrum mare).

Τῇ τῇ άλλῃ χ.] Bahr (2nd ed.) and Krüger following one MS. strike out χώρη, because τῇ άλλῃ is a common adverbial phrase, and the dat. after ἐστιν. would be ‘ungrammatical.’ But why should not a dat. after a verb of motion be as grammatical as εἰς with the accus. (14. 6) after a verb of rest?

§ 3. άπασι.] ‘In everything’ (32. 93; 91. 7). With τῶν supply πόλεων. For the early preeminence of Argos see Thuc. 1. 9.

ἐν τῇ νῦν] i.e. it was then called by a different name: see ch. 56 foll., and Thuc. i. 3. 2.

εἰς δὴ] Notice the conversational style of the narrative implied in this very common use of δὴ (II. 105. 1, n.).

§ 4. πάμπηκα δὲ κ. τ. λ.] ‘It was a week’s fair, closing according to the custom of the Semitic nations on the sixth day.’ Curtius.

τὸ δὲ οἶον οὖν.] In Hdt. though the article has lost to a great extent its demonstrative force, we still find enclitics which belong in construction to another part of the sentence inserted before the substantive, e.g. οἶ οὐσι βῆς, 31. 3; οἶ γὰρ μὲ παίδες, 115. 3.

§ 5. κατὰ πρῶμην] The ship would be beached stern-foremost, whilst unloading. θυμὸς, in its Homeric sense, e.g. τινῶν ὄτε θυμὸς ἀνάγεται (132. 5, note).

διακελευσμένον] δια- = ‘from one to the other.’ So διαδίδοναι.
2 Οὔτω μὲν Ἰουν ἐς Ἀγυμπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἡς Φοίνικες· καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τούτω ἀρξαί πρῶτον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἐλλήνων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοίνικης ἐς Τύρων προσχόντας, ἀρτάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τῆν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἴσαν δὲ ἀν οὕτωι Κρήτες ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἵσα σφὶ πρὸς ἵσα 3 γενέσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἐλλήνας αὐτίως τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίας γενέσθαι. καταπλάσασιν γὰρ μακρὴν νῆν ἐς Ἀλάω τῇ τῶν Κολχίδων ἐς τῇ 4 Ἐλλάδα κῆρυκα, αἰτεών τῇ δίκαιᾳ τῆς ἄρταγῆς, καὶ ἀπαίτειν τῇ θυγατέρᾳ. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὡς οὖδὲ ἐκείνωι Ἰουν 5 τῆς 'Ἀργείας ἐδοσάν σφὶ δίκας τῆς ἄρταγῆς, οὖδὲ ἀν αὐτῶι 3 δώσειν ἐκείνωι. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγονται γενέτειρα μετὰ ταύτα 1 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριαμοῦ, ἀκηκοῦτα ταῦτα, ἐθελήσατι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος δι' ἄρταγῆς· γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνωι διδόναι.

CH. 2. § 1. Φοίνικες] Bahr is prob. right in retaining this; see below, § 5. 2. But the reading "Ἑλλήνες" has some authority and point. "Dixerat modo scriptor in nomine cum Graecis Persas consensisse, nunc illos in reliqua narratione ab eisdem dissentire ait." Schw.


§ 2. ἐνέπαθαν δὲ [ἔν] ‘These would probably be Cretans,' i. e. they would prove to be so, if we knew the whole matter. The notion of the possibility of future modifications, which properly applies only to our opinions concerning past events, is transferred to the past events themselves. They were prob. Cretans, because Minos of Crete πα- λαισταὶ ναυτικῶν ἐκχύσετο (Thuc. I. 4. 1).

§ 3. οἰκεν πρὸς [οἰκα] Cf. ἐν πρὸς ἐν, IV. 50. 2.

μακρὴ [νῆ] the Argo, which may fairly be called a ship of war owing to its crew of warriors. Thuc. talks of πλοῖα μακρὰ in early times as distinct from triremes (I. 14. 2).

καὶ τάλλα] καὶ here, as often, is placed in the clause which according to our idiom would seem least to require it. So εἰς τὸ καὶ ἄλλο, ἑκκράτης, instead of εἰς τὸ ἄλλο, καὶ ἑκκράτης. The allusion is to the quest of the golden fleece.

§ 4. τῶν Κόλχων i. e. the king of Colchis. Cf. τὸν Ἀράβιον, III. 8. 2; ὁ Πέρσης, VII. 116. 1.

ἀπαιτεῖν] 'Asked back.' Cf. ἐκ- δώντες, 3. 3.

§ 5. αὐτοῖ] The nom. is used, as if οἱ δὲ ὑπεκρίναστο had preceded: Π. 118. 4, n.

CH. 3. § 1. Δευτέρῃ] 'A generation later.' Cf. 13. 5; 82. 6.

ἐπιστάμενον] 122. 1, note.

οὔτε] We should have expected οὐδὲ. The use of οὔτε can only be explained by supposing the omission of the corresponding clause. Two opposite points of view are
implied all through the story. ἀδόναι is the imperf. infin. —'were not giving,' the debt being still due.

§ 3. προσχύμανοι] sc. τῶν Ἐλλήνων, the gen. abs. being used instead of the dat. So ἀπαγέτων below; μελλόντων, II. 151. 1. After ἐκδόντες supply ἔχουσιν. Thus δύνατος, δύνατες correspond to αἰτείς, ἀπαγέτων above. The second σφῖ is εὐνοούσις. Hdt. generally uses σφῖσι for the direct and σφὶ for the indirect reflexive (86. 6. 11). At VII. 149. 2, λέγων, σφὶ μὲν εἶπα, prob. σφίσι should be read (so one MS.). The whole of this opening passage has been parodied by Aristoph. (Ach. 533—9). Cf. 179. 4; II. 136. 7.

CH. 4. § 2. σφῖσι] The accus. of the reflexive pronoun instead of the nom. is common in Hdt., e.g. 5. 3; 34. 1. The subject of νομίζων is σφῖσι (the Persians). If στουδὴν governs ἀργαθείσεως, τιμωρεῖν is added by way of explanation, but ἀργασθ. is more prob. the gen. abs., so that τιμωρεῖν depends directly on σφὶ ποιήσασθαι, as if στουδᾷεων had been the verb used.

§ 3. δῆλα] So σὰ τε, 194. 7; ἄδειατα (also in Thuc.) 91. 1; βιωσίμα, III. 109. 1; χαλέπδ, IX. 2. 2.

§ 4. βάρβαρα] This excludes the Asiatic Greeks. With ἀκεφείται, cf. τὴν Ἀσίην τάσας νομίζουν ἐπειδὴ εἶναι Πέρσας, IX. 116. 6. The Persians (or Hdt.) here seem to be attributing the sentiments of their own time to an earlier age. Compare the terms of the treaties towards the close of the Peloponnesian war:

Thuc. VIII. 58. 2; Xen. Hell. V. 1. 31.
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5 Οὔτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἡλιόν ἡ ἀλασεν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι έόσαιν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐξήρησης τῆς ἐσ τούτων "Ελλήνως. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Τοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογεύοντοι ἢ Πέρσαι οὔτως Φοίνικες. οὐ γὰρ ἄρπαγων ἀφεῖς ξυνηθεμένοις λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἢ Αὐγουπτον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν τῷ "Ἀργεῖ ἐμισαντο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθεν ἐγκνος έόσαια, αἰδεομένη τούς τοκέας, οὔτω δὴ εθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τούτως Φοίνιξι συνεκπλάκαι, οὐς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν 6 νυν Πέρσαι τέ καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. 'Εγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέως ὡς οὔτως ἢ ἀλλα οὔτα ταύτα ἐγκνεντο· τὸν δὲ οἷα αὐτοὺς πρῶτον ὑπάρχεντα ἀδικων ἐγγαν ἐσ τούτων."Ελληνας, τούτων σημάνεα, προβῆσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τού λόγου, ὀμοιος σμικρά καὶ μεγάλα ἀστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξεπι. τα γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἢν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν 6 σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐμευ ἢν μεγάλα, πρῶτερον ἢν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπην ἢν ἐπιστήμην ἐνδαιμονίην οὐ- 7 δαμα ἐν τῷ τού ἐννουσα, ἐπινεήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὀμοιος.

6 Κροίσως ἡν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττα, τύραννος 1 δὲ ἐθνίων τῶν ἐντός "Ἀλυνος ποταμοῖς τοῖς ἐνεοὶ ἡμειαμη

---6. 1]
8 'HRODOTOI [6. 2.
βρίς μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων, εξείς πρὸς βορέην ἀνέμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. Οὗτος ὁ Κρόισος Βαρβάρων πρώτος, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδίμεν, τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέφατο Ἐλλήνων ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῆν, τοὺς δὲ φιλοὺς προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέφατο μὲν Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Αἰόλεας, καὶ Δωρίας τοὺς ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ φιλοὺς δὲ προσεποιήσατο Δακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κρόισου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἐλλήνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι. 4 τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀπικομένον, Κρόισον ἑνὸ προσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφῇ ἐγένετο τῶν 7 πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγήν. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονία οὗτω περίδθε, ἐόσα 'Ἡρακλείδεων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κρόισον, καλεομένοις δὲ Μερμυίδας. Ὦν Κανδαῖλης, τῶν οἱ Ἐλλήνες Μυρσίλον οὐνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίους, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαιό τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου, τοῦ 3 Βήλου, τοῦ Ἀλκαλοῦ, πρῶτος Ἡρακλείδεων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο

.Σύρων] i.e. the Cappadocians (72. 1).
.ἐξείς] This form (for ἐξεῖς) is common in Homer (II. 1. 479; xiii. 444; Od. iv. 372).
§ 3. τούς ἐν τῇ Α.] belongs only to Δωρίας.
.Δακεδαιμονίους] Ch. 69.
§ 4. Κιμμερίων] See 15. 2; 103. 5; IV. II.
.ἐξ ἐπιδρ. ἀρπαγή[] 'A mere rare for plundering (i.e. not permanent).
.Συ. 7. § 1. περίδθε] So περίδθε, 120. 7; περίδθε, 210. 4. περι here might imply a reference to the wheel of fortune (cf. κύκλος, 207. 4), but the phrase is often used of legitimate succession (e.g. II. 120. 5), in which case each monarch's reign seems to be regarded as a complete cycle or circle, so that the kingship starts afresh at the same point with his successor.
§ 2. Μυρσίλον] Below Candaules is called the son of Myrsus; hence Myrsilus would seem to be a patronymic of a Latin or Etruscan type, like Servilius, Quintilius, &c.
.τοῦ Βήλ. τοῦ Ἀ.] τοῦ in each case belongs to the preceding subst. On the supposed Semitic origin of the Lydians, see to the preceding subst. On the supposed Semitic origin of the Lydians, see Rawlinson, App. Bk. 1. xi. 6; Curtius, Hist. Greece (E. T.) I. 76.
§ 4. ἵπτ' ὅτειν] Cf. 1:154. 2; 167. 4; 116. 4; 99. 7; 100. 3. In these and other passages ὅτειν seems to be used as simply equivalent to ὅς. (Jelf says that ὅτειν emphasises the subst. = 'that Lydus from whom.') Conversely Hdt. uses the simple relative in indirect questions (56. 2, n.).

ὀὐτός] 'The present people.' So ταύτας, 75. 4.

πρῶτον Ἔθσιν] Even in Homer's time the name Lydian is unknown.

§ 5. ἐπιτραφθέντες] sc. τὴν ἄρχην. The active ἐπιτρέπεται τινι τὴν ἄρχην becomes in the passive ἐπιτρέπεται τις τὴν ἄρχην. Compare τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκεκομμένος, and the use of the passives, ἄπειλομαι, ἐπιβουλεύομαι, πιστεύομαι.

ἐτεις πάντες τε καὶ π.]} The number of years does not correspond with Hdt.'s own definition of the length of a 'generation' (II. 142. 2): but here he prob. has taken his numbers from an actually existing register or pedigree.

παῖς παρὰ π. ἐκδ. II. 41. 4. n.

CH. 8. § 1. ἡραδῆν] Either = 'had fallen in love with his own wife,' i.e. before he married her, or simply 'was in love with her,' this ἔρως being mentioned as something unusual in an Oriental despot.

[ἔρως δέ] Hdt. is very fond of introducing a second clause by the aorist participle of the preceding verb (19. 2; 189. 3; II. 14. 3; 25. 2).

§ 2. ὅς τε = Attic ὅτε, which Hdt. also uses, as well as ὅλα (ὁδ) and ὅλα τε.

ἡ γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γέγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μᾶλιτα: τοῦτο τῷ Γέγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαίστερα τῶν προγράμματων ὑπερετήθητο ὁ Κανδαίλης, καὶ ὅτα καὶ τὸ εἴδος τῆς
§ 3. ἧριν] Possibly the oracle mentioned above (7. 5), contained a prediction as to the downfall of the dynasty (as did the oracle delivered to Gyges, 13. 4). Notice Hdt.'s fatalism. So ἧριν, 120. 1; ὤμε, 161. 3.


§ 6. ἔστω μὴ δέσωσι] See 11. 52. 4 note.

CH. 9. § 1. ἀπεμάχετο] 'Tried to fight clear' (68. 6, n.).

§ 2. λόγον τόνδε] The plural might be explained as referring to ἄνδρων above. But Hdt. frequently uses αὐτά vaguely. Cf. 89. 3; 94. 3; 107. 3.

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It is also omitted (1) where the pronoun is used δεκτικῶς (= 'here present'), e.g. γυναῖκα ταύτην, 1115. 7; τόξον τόδε, III. 21. 5, (2) where the reference is to what follows, e.g. κόσμον τόδε, 1. 99. 2, and (3) where the subst. is a predicate (120. 1, note). St. Pps. τόδε here is in apposition, = my speech, viz. this.

§ 3. ἄρχην] 'To begin with.' Grammatically ἄρχην is in apposition with the object of the main verb, that object being often, as here, a notion cognate or equivalent to the verbal notion (οὗτως ὅστε = τοιαύτην μηχανόν ὅστε). Frequently, however, this construction is lost sight of, and ἄρχην thus becomes a pure adverb (86. 6; 140. 5; 11. 26. 1). Compare the use of τέλος (76. 5; 82. 6).

§ 4. τῆς ἄνουγμενης] Stein says that this is put inaccurately for ἄνουθεσίς, comparing τοῦ ἄνουθεσί- σκοτας, 11. 41. 4; τῶν λεγόμενων,
Δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐστὶ κοίτων. κεῖται δὲ ἄγχου τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἰματίων 5 κατὰ ἐν ἐκαστῷ ἐκδύνουσα θήσει· καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίαν πολλὴν παρέξει τοις θείσαισι. ἔπεαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη 6 ἐπὶ τὴν εἴνην, κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σολ μελέτω τὸ 10 ἑνθεύτεν ὄκως μὴ σε ὅφεται ἱόντα διὰ τρύφων." Ὅ μὲν δὴ, 1 ὡς οὐκ ἦδοντο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἐτοίμος. ὅ δὲ Κανδάπης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὄρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγηα ἐς τὸ ὀἰκήμα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ. ἐσελ- 2 θοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθέοντες τὰ ἑμᾶτα ἔθηκε τὸ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο, ἱστος τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκενῦ ἐγγύρεσε ἐξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐποραὶ μιν εξιόντα. μα- 3 θοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὔτε ἀνέβουσεν αἰσχυν- θείσα, οὔτε ἐδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόσῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδάπηα. παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς Λυδοῖς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ 4 τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνδρὰ ἀφθηνεῖ γυμνον, ἐς ἴδιον ἡσυχίαν μεγάλην φέρει. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὔτω, οὔδεν δηλώσασα, ἡ 5 ἡσυχίαν ἐλει̊ χε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάξιστα ἐγεγονεῦς, τῶν ὀικέτων τοὺς μάλιστα ὀρα πιστοὺς ἑώτας ἑωτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιη- σαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγηα. Ὅ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκεῶν αὐτήν τῶν 2

I. 134. 4. But in both these passages the tense can be justified and here perhaps it is meant to refer to the gradual opening of the door: = 'be- hind the door that opens as we enter.'

μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα] See II. 129. 3.

§ 5. κατὰ δὲ ἐκαστὸν] This is not a case of tmesis (κατὰ—θῆσει, cf. 66. 1; 194. 6), but κατὰ has its distributive sense, notwithstanding the addition of ἐκαστὸν (cf. 54. 1; 196. 3). The whole phrase τῶν ἰμ. κατὰ ἐκαστὸν thus takes the place of an accusative after θῆσει. So ἡ τοῦ ἐκδύναμος ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσει, Thuc. II. 76. 4.

παρέξει[ here might have γυνὴ for its nom., and γυμνὰ might be the nom. of παρέξει, 170. 1. But in other passages (III. 73. 1: 142. 3) the verb must be taken impersonally. So ἡσυχ., II. 117. 1; διεδέξει, II. 134. 4.

Ch. 10. § 1. Γύγηα] Above (8. 3), we have Γύγην, but compare διεπό- 

τεα, II. 7; Ἀράδεω, 205. 3 (we have Ἀράδεω, 202. 7).

§ 3. οὔτε ἐδοξε μαθ.] 'Dissimula- 

vit se animadvertisse,' Gaisf. In the following sentence Hdt. is tacitly contrasting Greek sentiment with barbarian, but prob. in the age of 

Gyges the views of Greeks and bar- 

barians would have been alike on this point. Thuc. I. 6. 5; Plat. 

Rep. 453 C, οὗ πολὺς χρόνος ἐς οὗ 

tois Ἑλληνιστὸν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ ἐγαί καὶ 

γελοῖα, ἀπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν 

βαρβάρων γυμνῶν ἄνδρας ὀράσατι.

Ch. 11. § 1. οὔτω] 'In the way 

I have said.'

ἐκάλεε] So below, ἔλεγε, ἐπει-

ρώτα, the imperfect in each case 

implying that the action took time. 

This mode of referring to a period
πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι, ἡλθε καλεόμενος· ἀδεη γὰρ καὶ ἤποθε, δικιός τε βασιλείας καλέοι, φοιτάν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γιγκῆς 2 ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε: "Νῦν τοι δυνὴ παρευρεσίων, Γιγκῆ, δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεια τραπέζασθαι· η γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας, ἔμε τε καὶ τὴν βασιλκὴν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἦν αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα σὺν ἀποθνήσκειν δει; ὡς ἄν μή, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη, τὸν λοφῦ τῆς τὰ μή σε δεί. ἄλλα ἢτοι κείνον γε τὸ ταῦτα βουλεύομαν δει ἀπόλαυσθαι, 4 ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὶ γυμνὴν θησαμένον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα." Ο δὲ Γιγκῆς τέως μὲν ἀπεθανομαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· 5 μετὰ δὲ ἔκτενε μή μὲν ἀναγκαῖο ἐνδείᾳ διακρίνει τοιαῦτην αἴρεσιν. οὐκ ἄν δὴ ἐπείθη, ἄλλα ἔρα ἁναγκαίην ἀληθῶς 6 προκειμένην, ἢ τὸν δεσπότην ἀπολλύναι, ᾧ αὐτὸν ἵπτ' ἄλλων ἀπόλαυσθαις· αἰρέται αὐτὸς περιέθα. ἐπιθυμῶτα δὴ λέγων 7 τάδε: "Εσπερὶ μὲ ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότη τὸν ἕμων κτείνειν, οὐκ ἔθελοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέως καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν

When the action was still incomplete heghtens the description.

§ 2. δικός = διός, a common use.
§ 3. δικών] There is some MS. authority for δικῶν here and at 91. 6. But Hdt. hardly ever uses the dual. If δικών be not actually read (so most edd.), it must be mentally supplied, as implied in ὁκοτέρην τραπέζασθε. Cf. ὁτὶ τραπέζαται ἐπὶ γενεάς δικών, 117. 2.
αὐτίκα οὖτοι] 'Now and here.' 'Videtur digito monstrasse satellites ad obtundacandum, si conditionem recusaret, paratos.' Schol.

τοῦ λοφῦ] 'Another time.'
§ 5. τέως μὲν...μετὰ δική] 11. 93. 8, n. μὲν is reflexive, 'but only an indirect reflexive,' Kr. Cf. 45. 1; 86. 6, n. ἀναγκαῖον, ἐνδείᾳ] Hom. Π. Π. 111, Ζεὺς με μέγα Ἀρισταρχος ἀτρικληθεὶς θην ἐνέδητε βαθίνῃ.
§ 6. οὐκ ἄν δὴ—περιμένω] 'It is a peculiarity of Hdt. that when he wishes to express a negative motive, he prefixes it co-ordinately with οὐκῶς to the consequences which result from it, while the sentence expressing these consequences is not connected by any conjunction, being referred back to the οὐκ εἰς οὐκομιν.' Jelf. G. G. 753. 3. Thus αἰρέται is not an ordinary instance of asyndeton. Cf. 59. 4; 206. 2. Stein thinks that in these and other passages οὐκ ἄν has an adversative force (= nec tamen, nec vero). Cf. 11. 139. 3; οὐδὲ οὐκ οὐδὲ, 11. 134. 2. It would prob. be more true to say that the Greek idiom leaves the opposition to be inferred from the context.

§ 7. τήρῃ καὶ τρῆρα. The exact force of καὶ in these interrogative clauses has been disputed. Acc. to Hermann (ad Viger. 320), it implies a doubt about the matter in question. 'Quis τι χρῆ καὶ λέγεις interrogat, is non solum quid, sed etiam an ali- quid dicendum sit dubitatum.' More prob. καὶ emphasises the term to which it is prefixed as being the particular point, about which one requires to have information (Krüg.), and this explanation certainly suits the present passage well: 'seeing thou constrainest me to kill my lord against my will, come, let me hear next what is to be the way wherein we shall lay hands upon him.'
ΚΛΕΙΩ. 13

αὐτῷ." Ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐφή "Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμή ἐσται, θεὲν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν'

12 ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐσται." Ὁς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γινομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετέτο ὁ Γύγης, οὔτε

εἰ ἤ ἀπαλλαγῇ οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἡ αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ Κανδαίλεα) εὐπτομέν ἐστι τὴν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικὶ. καὶ μὲν

ἐκεῖνη, ἐξεχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυμένου Κανδαίλεως, ὑπεισόδος τε καὶ 3

ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὴν βασίλητιν Γύγης (τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάροιος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον

13 γενόμενον, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη). Ἐσχε δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίους.

ὁς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυκὸι δεινὸν ἐποιεῖντο τὸ Κανδαίλεως πάθος 2 καὶ ἐν ὑπνωμείᾳ ἤσαν, συνεβόησαν ἐς τῶν ὁ τε τοῦ. Γύγωω

στασιῶτας καὶ οἱ λουπὸι Λυκός, ᾧ μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστηρίουν ἀνέλυ μν βασιλεία εἶναι Λυκῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεὐεῖν ἢ δὲ

μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὁπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἀνέλε τε 3

dὴ τὸ χρηστηρίου, καὶ ἐβασιλεῦσεν οὕτω Γύγης. τοσοῦτος 4

μέντοι ἐπὶ ἡ Πυθή, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίς ἤξει ἐς τὸν

πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τοῦτω τοῦ ἔπειρος Λυκός τε καὶ 5

οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγου οὐδένα ἐποιεῖτο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπε-

τελέσθη.

CH. 12. § 3. τοῦ κα...ἐπεμνή-

σθα] These words have been sus-

pected, partly because they interfere

with the run of the sentence (ἴσχε... καὶ τὴν βασιλήτιν Γύγης ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλεία εἶναι Λυκῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεῦεν; ἢ

ὅτι, ἀποδοῦναι ὁπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἀνελέ τε 3

δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ ἐβασιλεύσεν οὕτω Γύγης. τοσοῦτος 4

μέντοι ἐπὶ ἡ Πυθή, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίς ἤξει ἐς τὸν

πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τοῦτω τοῦ ἔπειρος Λυκός τε καὶ 5

οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγου οὐδένα ἐποιεῖτο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπε-

tελέσθη.

§ 3. ἐβασιλεύσεν] 'Became king.'

Lit. 'was (henceforth) king,' the

aorist denoting an instantaneous

change. So τυραννέως (14. 1) = 'as

soon as he had become despot,' and

is thus not the same as τυραννέων.

Cf. ἡγησάτο, 95. 2; οὐδεὶς εὑρέθησα-

ται κάλλιον λαβὼν Ἑσαυγόρ τῷ

βασιλεῖαν, εἰ έξετάξεις τὶς ἐπιχειρήσεις

ὅπως ἔκαρτο τῷ τυραννεύσῃ, Ἰσοκρ.

Εἰσαγ. 44.

§ 5. ἔτος] Used in a special

sense, χρηστὴριον. Cf. ἔτεα, ἔτος,

vii. 142. 7; 143. 2. 'The oracle

probably ran: —τεμπυτὸν δὲ εἰς γενέων

ἥξει τίς Ἡρακλείδας.' St. Cæcilius

is not the τεμπυτὸν ἀπόγονον, unless

we count Gyges himself as the first,

acc. to the common Greek idiom.

See 91. 2, and 49. 1, note.
14 Τὴν μὲν δὲ τυραννίδα οὗτοι ἔσχον οἱ Μερμυνᾶι, τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελήμενοι. Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὔκ ὀλύγα. ἀλλὰ δὲν μὲν ἄργυρον ἀναθήματα, ἦστι οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖς: πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἄργυρου, χρυσὸν ἀπέλευσαν ἀνέδεκας ἄλλου τε καὶ, τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἑστὶ, κρητηρίας οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ζῶ κρύσεοι ἀνακέταται. ἔστις δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τρήκοντα τὰλαντα: ἄλλες δὲ λόγῳ χρεω-μένῳ οὐ τοῖς Κορινθίων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐστὶν οἱ θησαυροί, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡντλεόνος. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ-5 βάρων τῶν ἰδίων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γαρδίκου, Φυμυγῆς βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ 6 δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλέα τὸν θρόνον, ἐς τὸν προκατίζον ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα δὲ ἱεροθέντων, κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἐνθα, περ ἐς τὸν Γύγηον κρητηρίας. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ 7 ἄργυρος, ὁ δὲ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὕπο Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέτοντος ἐπωνυμίαν. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν υπὸ στρατηγὸν 8 καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τῇ ἤρξῃ, ἐς τῷ Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ

CH. 14. § 1. ἀναπέμφη. Pps. not simply 'sent away,' but 'sent back,' ἀνα- implying that the offerings were due in return for the decision of the oracle (13. 3). So ἀπέδωκε = gave back, paid as a debt, 11. 154. 2. 
§ 3. ἄλλα δὲν μὲν κ.τ.λ.] ἄλλα is used because of οὐκ ὀλύγα above ('not few, but,' where we should say 'not few, for'). Tr. 'on the contrary, while of all the silver offerings he has most (i.e. more than any one else) at Delphi, besides the silver he offered an immense quantity of gold; among other things—and it is a gift which most of all deserves to be remembered—golden bowls, six in number, are laid up there as offerings of his.' The antecedent of τοῦ is the verbal notion implied in the clause κρητηρίας οἱ κ.τ.λ.

ἀνακέταται = ἀνατέθεμαι. We should have expected κρητηρίας ἀνέ-θηκε, but the construction is changed. 
§ 4. ἐν τῷ Κ. θ.] There were several of these θησαυρῶν at Delphi (Κλαυμόπολον θ., 51. 2; Συφόλιον θ., III. 57. 2).

χρωμένῳ sc. τῷ. This dat. (of relation) denotes the point of view. It is used (1) in describing a locality (e.g. ἐν δεξίᾳ ἐκπλέουν, ἐκβάουν), (2) in depicting a mental attitude (e.g. ἐκ κοποωμένῳ, ὑπελεύστη, παραλι-τότη.)

§ 6. ἐς τῶν] ἐς, because the rest implies previous motion: cf. 199. 1.

προκατίζων] 'sitting in public.' Cf. προείστε, 21. 3; ὅτι ἐν προγε-φωμέν ἐν τοῖς πανικοῖς, 'whatever public notices we put up,' Ar. Av. 450.

§ 7. Γυγάδας] A Doric form, like καύδασ, the name of the underground cavern at Sparta (Thuc. i. 134. 6).

ἐπωνυμίαν is the accus. of cognate notion (= κλῆσιν) after κα- λεῖται.

§ 8. καὶ οὗτος] As well as Creo- sus (6. 2). Or καὶ may anticipate the invasions of the later Lydian kings, as related below.

ἐνε τῇ] By Hdt., as by Homer
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

Колоφώνος τῷ άστῳ εἶπεν ἀλλὰ οὐδεν γὰρ μέγα έργον ἀπὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο εγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δύνων δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα έτεα, τούτων μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμησθέντες. 15 Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγνου μετὰ Γύγνου βασιλεύσαντος μνῆμην ἔπισομαι, οὕτως δὲ Πρηνέας τε εἶπε, ἐς Μιλητῶν τέ ἐσέβαλε. ἔπὶ τούτων τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίου Κιμμέριοι έξηδέεων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Σάρδις πλην τῆς ἄκρουτος ἐλλούν.

Κιμμέριοι] Grote II. 430 (ΠΙ. 335) foll.
Σάρδις] Notice the Ionic form of the accus. plur. So ξόλας, ὁδυς.
Ch. 16. § 1. Σαδανάττης] B. C. 629—617. The MS. in the British Museum reads Σαρδάναττας in both passages in this ch., but Σαδανάττης in ch. 18 (Long). The name may thus possibly be connected with Sar- dis, as Ἀλανάττης is with Ἀλις. Blakesley.
Σαδανάττης] Supply βασιλευσαν- τος, but see II. 112. 1.
§ 2. Κυαξάρης] Chs. 73, 74.
Κ. τε......καὶ ἅγιοι [Cyzaxares being king of the Medes]: cf. 21. 1; 27. 2; 106. 2; Caesar, B. G. vi. 12, Germanos atque Ariovistum (St.).
ἀπὸ] ‘From,’ not ‘by.’ Schwyzer compares the force of the prep. in ἀποκείμενοι.
Καλοφῶνος] Ch. 150.
§ 3. τούτων] sc. τῶν Κλακρομελίων, by metonymy for τούτων (sc. Κλα- κρομελίων): cf. 151. 2; II. 90. 1. St.
CH. 17. § 2. ἐπολ. γὰρ] γὰρ explains τὰδε above, as if there had been no intervening sentence, and τὰδε itself is repeated by τρόπῳ τοιῷδε below. The point of the story is thus delayed, to heighten the interest. Cf. 31. 2.

διώκει] II. 2, note.
§ 3. ὑπὸ] VII. 22. 2, ὄρυσσον ὑπὶ μαστίγων. Thuc. v. 70, χαρώνιτες ὑπὸ αὐληγμών.

γνεύει τοι ἀνδρῷ i.e. prob. ‘treadle and bass, corresponding to the ordinary sexual difference in the human voice. The corresponding Latin terms are tibia dextra and sinistra.’ Smith’s Dict. Ant.

§ 4. κατὰ χώρην] = ἀληγμα. Cf. φόρουσ, of κατὰ χώρην διατελέσων ἔχοντες, ‘continue as they were,’ VI. 42. 3.

ὁ δὲ] See 107. 4, n.

διώκει διαφῆκ.] As the destruction of the crops was the important thing, we should have expected this notion to be expressed by a main verb. So at 105, 2, instead of διώκει μεταπέμπατο, we should have expected μεταπέμπατο καὶ κ.τ.λ.

§ 5. ἔργον = προβργον (cf. τρῆγμα, 79. 1), or rather it combines the two ideas,—work and the results of work: = they did not take the trouble and it would have been no good if they had done so.

§ 6. ὁ Λυδὸς] See 2. 4, n.

καὶ σίνωθαι] ‘Something to damage as well.’ He was not content with the mere invasion.

CH. 18. § 1. ἐπόλαμμεν sc. ὁ Λυδὸς, a common term which denotes both Sadyattes and Alyattes (§ 2).


§ 2] τὰ μὲν νῦν ἔσ] Cf. 142. 6; 165. 4; 11. 20. 1; 107. 3; 157. 1. ‘The article is used, because the part of a definite whole (here eleven) is itself also definite.’ Ab. ‘The predicating of anything as to any one part of a number implies that the opposite to it may be predicated of the remainder, and thus the number is divided into two distinct parts, each of which is clearly defined and may have the article affixed to it.’ Arnold’s Thuc. I. 116. 1.
§ 3. ὡς κ.μή] This phrase arose from the use of ὁδέν ὁ τι μή, e.g. ὁδέν ἐστὶν ὁ τι μή τότε, and by transposition, ὁ τι μή Ἀθήνη, ὥς ὁδέν ἄλλο πόλεμος λόγοις (143. 2), lit. 'there was none other town of note, that was not Athens.' ὁ τι μή having thus obtained the meaning of nisi (εἰ μή), is used in sentences, where it cannot have its proper construction (Herm. ad Viger. 347).

Ch. 19. § 1. ἀν ἀφθη κ. τ. λ.] 'As soon as ever the corn had caught fire, it was carried by a violent wind, and set fire to the temple of Athene, who is named of, Assensus.' The middle form ἄγατο is used of the burning material which 'fastened on' the temple: the active would have been used if some person had been the subject of the verb. Cf. viii. 52. i. Hdt. omits the temporal augment much more frequently than the syllabic:—almost invariably (1) where the verb begins with a diphthong (ἀλκατα, 48. 1; παραλίθες, 80. 4), (2) where the form -σκων is used (ἀγεσκον, 148. 1; ἄρδεσκε, III. 117. 3; ἔγεισκε, VI. 12. 1).

§ 4. ἵθελε] Notice the change of construction. Similar instances occur after ὡς—τε, 59. 7; τε—καὶ, 85. 2; 129. 1; ὦ—ἄλλα, II. 138. 1; ἄμα μὲν—ἄμα δὲ, VI. 13. 2.

§ 5. πρὶν ἢ] In Attic prose we should prob. have had ἄν (as at 30. 12; 82. 7), and not ἢ, but this is no reason for reading ἄνορθώσωσιν. Cf. 136. 2; 199. 5.

Ch. 20. § 1. Δελφών] The use of the construction Δελφῶν is virtually an adverb.
τάδε προστίθεσαι τούτους. Περιέβρον τῶν Κυψέλων, ἔστα 
Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεῖον ζεύγον ἐς τὰ 
μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τῷ Ἀλνάττῃ γενό-

τάμενον, πέμψαντα ἀγγέλου κατευτεῖν, ὅκως ἂν τι προείδιος 
πρὸς τὸ παρεῦρον βοιλεύων. Μιλήσηιοι μὲν νῦν οὐτωλ.λέγουσι 3
21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλνάττῆς δὲ, ὡς οἱ ταύτα ἐξηγεῖλθη, αὐτίκα 
ἐπεμπεῖ κήρυκα ἐς Μιλήτων, βουλόμενος σπουδᾶς ποιήσασθαι 
Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλήσιοις χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηόν 
οἰκοδομῆ. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου ἦν. Θρασῦ-

βουλὸς δὲ σαφέως προπεπτυσμένοις πάντα λόγοι, καὶ εἰδὸς 
τὰ Ἀλνάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανάτα τοιάδε. ὅσος ἦ 
ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖο σῖτος καὶ ἐσωτερικὸς καὶ ἲδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα 
συγκοίμισας ἐς τὴν ἀγορήν, προείπε Μιλήσιοις, ἐπεάν αὐτός 
σημῆν, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κόμωρ σχέσεις ἐς ἀλλή-

22 λους. Ταύτα δὲ ἐποιεῖ τε καὶ προηγώρευε Θρασυβούλος 
τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδινῖος, ἰδὼν τὲ 
σωρὸν μέγαν σῖτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπα-
θείᾳ τούτων ἔντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλνάττῃ. τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς 
γὰρ δὴ ἵδον τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἶτας πρὸς Θρασυβούλου 
τὰς ἑυτολάς τοῦ Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ 
πυθανόμαι, δι’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων 
γὰρ ὁ Ἀλνάττης σεποδεῖν τε ἐναὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ 
καὶ τὸν ἅγιον τετρύσθαε ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ, ἦκους τοῦ 
κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους

§ 2. ὅκως ἂν τι τι belongs to 

boiλεύω, the nom. to which is 

Thrasylalus.

Ch. 21. § 1. ταύτα] refers to 19. 5.

§ 2. ἀπόστολος] is predicate, ἀ-

τότε ἣν being equivalent to ἀποστα-

λέον ἦν. Cf. v. 38. 2, ἐς Δικηλι-

μους τρεῖρε ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο (= 

ἀποστέλλον).

πάντα λόγον] 'Every word.' Or 

ἵ may = τῶν πάντα λόγον (111. 8); 

πάντα τῶν λόγων (11. 123. 1). Cf. 

ὅκως πᾶς, 'the whole house,' 111. 

4; παντὶ στόχῳ. V. 46. 2; and the 

omission of the article with οὗτος 

(9. 2, n.).

§ 3. κόμω χρῆσαται = κομμές, 

as ἄρταγυ χρησάμενος (5. 3) = ἄρ-

τασαντας, and ὁμολόγη ἐχρῆσαντας 

(150. 3) = ωμολόγησαν (Ab.). 

ἐς ἀλλήλων] 'One with another.' 

Or perhaps the phrase refers to the 

practice of visiting the houses of ac-

quaintances during the revels. See 

note on ἐς, 42. 1.

Ch. 22. § 2. ὦς ἤγα τυπθὰ] be-

longs to what follows: cf. ὦς ἐλέεσαι, 

34. 1; ὄσωρ καὶ ἢν, 78. 1 (K.), 

§ 3. τῶν λεῶν ... κακοῦ] This 

phrase, which occurs again, 11. 129. 

1, seems to be borrowed from some 

tragedy. St.
The text is a page from a classical Greek work, possibly from a historical or mythological text. The text is in Greek and includes various references to mythological figures such as Achilles and the dolphin. The text discusses the power and influence of certain figures and their actions. The text also includes a reference to Arion, a famous citharist, and his association with Methymna, a place in Lesbos.

The text is written in a classical Attic Greek dialect, which is the language of the ancient Greek world. The text is written in a formal and somewhat poetic style, typical of classical Greek literature.

The text is divided into paragraphs and includes a number of footnotes which are likely to be explanatory or informative. The footnotes include references to other works and authors, and provide additional context for the main text.

Overall, the text is a well-written and informative work that provides insight into the cultural and historical context of the ancient Greek world.
§ 3. *ἐν τῷ πελάγει* 'Out at sea' (III. 41. 3; IV. 110. 2).

§ 5. ἂν ὁ—ἡ*] The alternative lies between killing himself (with a certainty of burial on land), and letting the water kill him (with a slight possibility of escape).

αὐτὸν διαχρ. μν[υ] αὐτὸν μν = ἐω- τὸν (so αὐτὴν μν, II. 100. 7; αὐτὴ [υ] ἐμοл, III. 142. 5; αὐτὸσι ἡμῶν, V. 91. 2) Kr. For the interpolation of the verb, cf. ἐμέθεν περίδωσομαι αὐτῆς, Hom. Od. xxiii. 78.

tαφής] 'At tu nauta vagae ne parce malignus arenae Ossibus et capiti inhumato Particulam dare.' Hor. Od. i. 28. 23.

τὴν ταχλοσθαν] 108. 6. n.

§ 6. σκευή] His minstrel's garb. So Xerxes uses the word of his royal robes, VII. 15. 5.

ἐφελὼν] Here prob. not the rowers' seats, but the poop or half-deck at the stern (ἐκ τῆς πρόκμης, § 7).

§ 7. καλ τούτι ἐσ. γάρ] Instead of καλ τούτι, εσελθείν γάρ αὐτοῖς. Cf. § 114. 3; 155. 4. This construction results from the combination of three common rules of composition, viz. (1) that the clause containing γάρ may precede the clause which it explains, (2) that the subject of the main clause should for the sake of clearness and connection come as early as possible in the sentence, (3) that a noun or pronoun, when separated from the clause to which it belongs, follows if possible the construction of the nearest intervening clause.

εἶ] 'To think that.' The use of εἶ after θανατῆσθι and kindred verbs implies that the news is viewed as too good (or bad) to be true.

ἐσ μεσ. νῦν] 'Amidships:' III. 2. n.

§ 8. νόμον τὸν δρό.] The νόμος was peculiar to the worship of Apollo. The Orphian seems to have been originally accompanied by the flute: possibly Hdt.'s account implies that Arion first adapted it to a stringed instrument (Ab.).
ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτῷ χωρέων ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκεῦ, καὶ ἀπεκόμενον ἀπηγέοσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περὶ ἀνδροῦ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίωνα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, οὔδαμι λειτύντα, ἀνακώς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων ὥς δὲ ἀρα παρεῖναι αὐτοῦ, κληθέντας ἰστορεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τί λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίωνος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἰπ τε σῶς περὶ Ιταλίνην, καὶ μν ἐν πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆ ἵππα σφί τοῦ Ἀρίωνα, ὅσπερ ἔχων ἕξεπηδόςει καὶ τῶν ἐκπλαγεῖσας οὐκ ἔχειν ἐτὶ ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνεῖσθαι. Τάτα μὲν νῦν Ἐρίνθιοι τε καὶ Δέσβιοι λέγοισι. καὶ Ἀρίωνος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεων οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρο, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπέων ἀνθρώπος.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τῶν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον ἀκεφαλῶς μετέπειτα τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα ἐπτα καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγόν τὴν νοῦσον, δεύτερος οἴτως 2 τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης, ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητηρά τε ἀργύρεου μέγαν καὶ ἑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρου κόλλητον, θές ἄξον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῦι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χιοῦ πολίμα, ὅς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἔξευρε.

26 Τελευτῆσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεως, ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληθήν...
Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεως, ἑτέων ἑών ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριή-
κοντα· δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνων πρῶτοις ἐπέθηκατο Ἐφεσίους. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἑφεσίων πολυρκεύουν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσα τὴν ἑ ἐκάστους ὑπὸ του νησίου σχοινίων ἐσ τὰ τεῖχα.


δὲ δὴ] ‘Who, as I said’ (5. 5; 6. 2). Two sentences are compressed into one: δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνει ἐπεθήκατο ἐπεθήκατο δὲ προ. Ἡθο. 

§ 2. ἀνέθεσαν] So Polycrates made an offering of the island Rhe-

nia to Apollo, ἄλωσεν δῆσας πρὸς τοῦ Δῆλου, Thuc. III. 104. 4. 

§ 3. ἔστι δὲ—στάδιον] This is called the σχῆμα Πινδαρίκων. The singular is used because the promi-

nent idea is not so many στάδιοι, but simply so much intervening space (μήκος is inserted, II. 6. 1). 

§ 4. ἐκάστους] ‘Each state’ (141. 5; 169. 1; II. 41. 4; 63. 2; 123. 1, n.).

τῶν = ‘in whose case.’ Elsewhere (III. 31. 3) παρευρίσκειν (like παρ-

δεῖν, 37. 2) takes the dative. But here probably παρ-, as in παρα-

γρύσκειν, παραλογίζεσθαι, introduces the notion of untruthfulness and de-

ceit (St.). Supply τούτων after ἐπ-

κατωθόμενον. 

CY. 27. § 2. Βίαντα] Cf. 170. 1. 

Acc. to Clinton, Pittacus died B.C. 569. 

ἐπονυν] 179. 3, π. 

§ 3. Αἰ γὰρ κτ.λ.] Homeric; 

αἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοῦ ἄνδρα 

παραθεῖναι, Od. III. 205; αὐτὰρ ἐμὸ 

Zeus αὐτὸς ἐνι φρεσὶ τοῦτο τόμαμα 

τοῦ, Od. XIV. 274. 

Ἀλυάττικα] ‘An old-fashioned 

form of expression prob. borrowed 

from the east.’ St. Here it might 

be explained by the Homeric ring 

of the context (cf. ἐν τῶν τρέκουσιν 

Ἀθηναίων παιδ., III. 21. 6), but this
"Ω βασιλεύ, προθυμως μοι φαίνει εὔξασθαι νησίωτας ἵππειρω, οἰκότα ἐπίκους νησίωτας δὲ τί δοκεῖς εὐχεσθαι ἄλλῳ, ἃ ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθυντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπί σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ύπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰππείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἐλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;" Κάρτα τε 5 ἡσθήναι Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ ὁ προσφυνώς γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενοι παῖσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγῆς. καὶ οὕτως τοῖς τὰς νῆσους οἰκημέναις Ἰωσὶ ξεινὴν συνεδρήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινόμενον, κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἑντὸς "Ἀλος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων" πλὴν γὰρ Κτίλκων καὶ Λυκίων τῶν ἄλλων πάντως ὑπ’ ἐωτῶ ἐχει κατα- στραφάμενοι ο Κροίσος" εἰσὶ δὲ οἴδε, Λυδοῖς, Φρύγεσ, Μυσοῖς, Μαριαμνοῖς, Χάλυβεσ, Παφλαγόνεσ, Ἐρήμικες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κάρεσ, Ἰωνες, Δωρίεσ, Αἰολέσ, Πάμφυλοι.

explanation will not suit I. 86. 2; v. 49. 2. Homer calls the Maeonians (7. 4. n.) ιπποκροσταὶ (prob. from κρόσος, 'to equip,' like χαλκοκροσθῆ). Cf. 79. 4.

§ 4. ἀρώμενοι] This is the reading of all the good MSS. and must be retained. The difficulties about it are (1) the participial construction, (2) the nom. case, (3) the repetition of the idea contained in εὐχεσθαι, which seems to make it impossible for the one word to depend on the other. The simplest explanation is to regard the passage as an instance of ἀρακολουθία. Owing to the intervention of the clause ἐν τε... νέας, the writer thinks it necessary to repeat the idea contained in εὐ- χεσθαι, and carelessly does so by adding a participle in the nom., as if the sentence had begun: νησίωτας δὲ ὕπ’ οἰκ. εὐχεσκο; Translate: 'and what thinkest thou the islanders wished for more, as soon as they learnt, &c.? Are they not praying to catch the Lydians at sea?' The most ingenious emendation suggested is αἰσθεμένως, which with λαβεῖν ἐν θαλάσσῃ would make a good antithesis to ἰπποκροστάς λαμβᾶνειν εὐ.
29 κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσεπτικτωμένου Κροίσου· 
Δυσδοξώ, ἀπικνέονται ἦς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσα πλούτῳ ἄλλοι 
tε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἕλλαδος σοφισταὶ, οἱ τούτων τῶν 
χρόνων ἐπιγγαχαίν ένώτες, ὡς έκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοντο· καὶ 
δὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις νόμους κελευ-
σασί ποιήσας ἀπεθάνησε ἐνα πέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν 
ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τίνα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι 
tῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιήσας Ἀθῆ- 
ναίοι· ὄρκιοι γὰρ μεγάλωσι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἐτεὶ χρῆ- 
30 σεσθαί νόμοις τῶν ὁμοίως Σφί Σόλων βῆται. 
Αὐτῶν δὲ ὁμ οὐν 
tούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήγας ὁ Σόλων εἰνεκε 
ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ 
Κροίσου. ἀπικλόμενος δὲ ἐξεινDDevice ὅν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἕν 
ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη προτή ἢ τετάρτη, κελευ-
σαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περίγγον κατὰ 
tοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδεικνύσαν πάντα ένωτα μεγάλα τε 
kαὶ ὀλβία. θησαμόμενος δὲ μὲν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεφάμενον, 3 
ὡς οἱ κατὰ καίρον ἢν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροίσος τάδε· "Εἴειν Ἀθῆ- 
να εἰρίζει, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπίκεται πολλός, καὶ 
σοφίς εἰνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέως γῆν.

§ 2. Σόλων] 'Irreconcilable with 
chronology' Grote. See H. G. II. 
346 (III. 201), n. 'There may per-
haps have been an interview 
between Solon and Croesus in B. C. 
570, but it cannot be the interview 
described by Hdt.' 
πρόφασιν] Not 'pretext' (cf. τῆς 
θεωρίης εἰνεκεν, 30. 1), but 'occa-
sion' (II. 161. 3, n.).

[βῆτο] The middle voice, because 
Solon was a citizen of the state for 
which he legislated.

CH. 30. § 1. τῆς θ.] The article, 
because of the previous mention of 
θεωρίη. Amasis began to reign B. C. 
569.

§ 4. σοφίς εἰν.] εἰνεκεν here 
has prob. got into the text from 
θεωρ. εἰνεκεν in the following line. 
Cf. vi. 86. 6, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢν 
 λόγος πολλός, vi. 86. 6 (St.).
πολλὴν θεωρήσεις εἰσεκεν ἐπελήλυθας νῦν ὁν ἱμερος ἐπεὶ-5
ρεσθαι μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἰ τινὰ ἤδη πάντων εἰδες ὁλβιώτατον.”
Ὁ μὲν ἔπιξαν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὁλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπει-6
ρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθώπευσας, ἄλλα τῷ ἐντὸς χρησά-7
μενος, λέγει: “Ὡς βασιλεῦ, Τέλλου Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀποθω-7
μάσας δὲ Κροῖςος τὸ λεχθέν εἴρητο ἐπιστρεφέως: “Κοίη ἢ-
κρίνεις Τέλλου εἶναι ὁλβιώτατον;” Ὁ δὲ ἐδεί “Τέλλῳ 8
τούτῳ μὲν, τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἥκουσας, παῖδες ἦσαν καλὸι τε-
κάγαθοι, καὶ σφι εἰδε ἀπασι τέκνα ἐγκενόμενα καὶ πάντα
παραμέναντα τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκουται, ἃς τὰ παρ’ ἥμιν,
tελευτη τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο. γενομένης γὰρ 9
Ἀθηναῖοι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἑλευσῖν,
βοηθήσας καὶ τροπῆν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπέθανε
κάλλιστα. καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίᾳ τε ἐδαψαν αὐτῷ, το
τῷ ἐπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλοι.”

31 Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλου προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν 1
Κροῖσον, εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον
μετ’ ἐκείνον ἵδει, δοκέων πάγχων δευτερείᾳ γῶν οἰσεθαί.
ὁ δὲ ἐδεί: “Κλεοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτῳ γὰρ, ἐναί
gένος Ἀργείοις, βίοις τοις ἄρκεσιν ὑπῆρ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτῳ, ῥώμη
σώματος τούτῳ ἀεθλοφόρου τοις ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ

§ 5. νῦν ὠν] answers γὰρ above. 2 εἰ τινὰ] contains the two questions
whether? and whom?
§ 7. κοῖν] For κῆ (τῆ), as κοῖν stands for τίς (39. 2).
§ 8. τούτῳ μὲν] This redundant
use of τούτῳ for the sake of empha-
sis (= 'here's one thing') is analogo-
gous to the insertion of ὁ before δὲ
(107.4). See also notes, 124.3; 11.68.5.
ἐκ ἥκουσαι] takes the gen. (= 'in
respect of') on the analogy of ἐκ ἥ-
χειν. Cf. 149. 2; ἕως ἀγὼν ἧκο-
μεν; Eur. El. 751. In Attic prose
we have εἰ (καλὸς) φέρεσθαι (Thuc.
ii. 60. 3; v. 16. 1).
ἀς τὰ παρ’ ἥμιν] i.e. at Athens,
or in Greece: τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολὺν ἐδὲ
certe σώματος ἐκτεί, vili. 102. 1.
§ 9. ἀστυγείτονας] The Mega-
rians (Bähr). Solon distinguished
himself in the war between Athens
and Megara for the possession of
Salamis (cf. ἔδη, § 5). Grote H.C.
ii. 297 (III. 123).
§ 10. Δημοσίᾳ] Thuc. says that
this was an old custom at Athens:
τῷ πατρὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κρύμων δημοσίᾳ
tαφᾶς ἐκτίθεντο, ii. 34. 1; τοῖς τά-
λας, ib. 35. 6.
Ch. 31. § 1. τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τ.]
‘When S. in the matter of T. had
led C. on,’ sc. ἐπιστρέφειν. Schäfer
explains: ‘had put C. to flight:’
but the middle (as we see from the
Homeric use) would mean rather
‘to turn and flee.’ Prob. τοῦλα τε
καὶ δ. (cf. σὺντα καλὰ, 32. 8) is a
predicate, τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τ. having to
be supplied with ἐπεσε.
§ 2. ὑπῆρ ὑπ.] ὑπ., as in ὑπάρχειν.
tῶν [be] Repeated by ὑ δε (17.2, n.).
δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὡδὲ ὁ λόγος. ἐώσης ὀρθῆς τῇ Ἡρᾶ τοῦτος 3 Ἀργείαοι ἔδεε πάντως τῆς μητέρας αὐτῶν ἔνεγη εἰμισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν οἱ δὲ σφι βοῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρογίνοντο ἐν ἄρῃ εἰκληλείμενοι δὲ τῇ ἁρη οἱ νενιαί, ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱεραγή, εἶκον τὴν ἀμαξαν, ἕτε τῆς ἀμαξάς δὲ σφι ὅχετο ἡ μήτηρ. στάδιοι δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα 4 διακομάζουτε αὑτόκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι, καὶ ὁφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτή τοῦ βιοῦ ἀριστὴ ἑπεγένετο. διεδεξε τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεός, ὡς ἁμεινω εἰς ἅ ἀνδρόπω τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἥδειν. Ἀργείοι μὲν γὰρ 6 περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νενιέων τῆς ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι, τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, αὖν τέκνων ἐκύρησε. η δὲ 7 μήτηρ περιχαρῆς ἔσυσα τῷ τῇ ἡρας καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στάσα ἄντιον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, εὐχέτο, Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι, τοῖς ἐωσι τεκνιοί, οἱ μὲν ἐτήμισαν μεγάλως, δοῦναι τὴν θείαν τὸ ἀνδράπω τεχνὶ ἀριστῶν ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν 8 εὐχῆν, ὡς ἐνεύρω τε καὶ εὐσχηδίαν, κατακομμήθητες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ῥώ ῥοι νενιαί, αὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τελεί τοῦτο ἑσχυντο. Ἀργείοι δὲ σφεῶν εἰκώνας πουγάμενοι 9 ἀνέστησαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀριστῶν γενομένων.”

§ 3. [Εἰς τ. τ. τὴν μ.] She was priestess of Hera.

οὐ δὲ σφι β.] Ι. 4. π. ἔκκλ. τῇ ἁρη [Since the time barred them from delay,’ tempore excius, Caes. B. G. v. 11. 5.]

§ 4. τελευτηθεῖ} Cf. τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη (30. 8). Both stories thus illustrate the necessity of ‘looking to the end’ (32. 16).

§ 5. ὁ θεός] Not any particular god, but a personification of τὸ θεῖον (210. 1, n.). Cf. 32. 17; π. 132. 2. Elsewhere we have the article omitted, ὅν θεός, 86. 3; κατὰ δάλμα, III. 2.

μᾶλλον] is redundant (cf. 32. 8).

§ 6. ῥώμην] Some MSS. read γνώμην, pium in matrem studium.’ But Schew. points out that ῥώμην is more appropriate to the antithesis evidently intended between the praises of the ‘Ἀργεία’ and ‘Ἀργεία.’

ὁκὼν = ὅτι τοιοῦτον, the phrase arising from a mixture of oratio recta and obliqua. Cf. ἀγανάκτησαν ἔχει ψῆ ων κακοπαθεῖ τους, Thuc. ΙΙ. 41. 3.

Similarly the Homeric phrase, ὁμ θύρεις (e. g. Οδ. ΙV. 611) arises from an attempt to make a clause which is subordinate in sense, coordinate in construction.

§ 7. Κλεόβει] So ἀχάρι, Π. i; Δυσδαμί, 64. 2.

§ 8. ἐν τ. τ. τοῖς.] ‘They never rose again, but were held fast in this last sleep.’ Cf. ἐν τοὐτῳ τῷ ναῷ ἐχόμενοι, ἹΧ. 37. 3. τελεί, sc. τοῦ βίου (τελευτη, § 4).

§ 9. εἰκώνας] Distinguish between ἀγαλματικ, representations of the gods, ἀρδαμάτε, statues in honour of victors in the games, &c. set up in public (gen. not portraits), and εἰκόναι, portrait-statues of distinguished men, gen. dedicated in temples. This is the earliest known instance of the εἰκών.
32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαμονίας δευτερεία ἐνεμέ τούτων. 1 Κροίσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· "Ὤ ξείνε Ἀθηναίε, ἢ δὲ ἡμετέρης εὐδαμονίας οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν, ὡστε οὐδὲ ἴδωτεν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον, ἢμέας ἐποίησας;" Ὅ δὲ εἶπε· "Ὤ 2 Κροίσε, ἐπιστάμενον με τὸ θεῖον πάν ἐν ὄνα φθορέον τε καὶ ταραχάδες, ἐπειρατᾶς ἀνθρωπολόγων προῆγμάτων πέρι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρὸ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ θεῖον τὰ μῆ τις ἐθελεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα οὖρον τῆς τῆς ἄνθρώπων προτίθημι. οὕτω ἐόντες ἐναινοῖ ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισθυλίας καὶ διαμυρίας, ἐμβολίου μηνὸς μή γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελῆσαι 4 τοῦτον τῶν ἐτῶν μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἢν δὴ αἱ ὀραι γυμνὰκαι παραγωγαί μεν ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνις μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα οἱ ἐμβολίοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τοῦτον 5 τῶν ἀπασεόν ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα ἐσυνέον πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίας καὶ ἐξακισθυλίαι καὶ διαμυρίων,

Ch. 32. § 1. γε δὲ ημ.] δὲ refers to some parallel thought existing in the speaker's mind. We use 'and' in the same way at the beginning of an animated question: cf. 115. 3, 47. 4, n. 'τὸ μὴν' The class of nothings: 'nothingness.'

§ 2. ἐπιστάμε. με κ.τ.λ.] The same sentiment is put into the mouth of a Persian prince (VII. 10, 13; 46. 6) and of an Egyptian king (III. 40. 3). Cf. I. 5. 7. τὰ μὴ = τοιαῦτα ὡστε μὴ θέλειαν (II. 135. 4).

§ 3. ἐτεα—ἐναινοῖ] Here if there is any difference in meaning at all, ἐναινοῖ would seem to be the more definite word of the two, since ἐναινοῖ form the basis of the calculation. Cf. II. 4. 2. But in the Homeric phrase, ἔτοι ἦλθε περπλομένων ἐναινοῖ, ἔτοι is the definite year, and ἐναινοῖ merely denotes the natural succession of seasons. The date of the introduction of intercalary months is unknown. The cycle of two years which Hdt. here adopts was called τριετής (διὰ τριῶν ἔτεος, II. 4. 3), and was subsequently superseded by the ἑνετρής. Dict. Ant. Calendarium.

§ 4. παραγ. II. 4. 3, n. παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα "In the course of," not 'besides' (II. 121. 25).

§ 5. τοῦτον τῶν ἀντ. κ.τ.λ.] 26150 + 70 = 375 = the average number of days in a year acc. to Hdt.'s figures. Prob. there is something corrupt, since it is clear from II. 4. 3 (cf. I. 190. 1, n.) that Hdt. knew that the proper number of days in the year was somewhere about 365; but none of the corrections are satisfactory. 'Two inaccuracies produce the error in Hdt.; (1) he makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, whereas the Greek months after the introduction of intercalation were alternately of 29 and 30 days (κόλας and φλέρες); (2) he omits to mention that from time to time the intercalary month was omitted altogether.' Rawlinson.
§ 6. Τὸν ἄνθρ. συμφ.] ‘Man is nothing but accident.’ αἱ συμφοραί τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν συμφορῶν, VII. 49. 4. Wess. renders ‘omnia homo calamitas est,’ but Solon himself allows that some men are happy. πάντα συμφ. would have been the regular construction, like δὲ πάντα ἀναλίς οὐς, ἡ τάσα βλάβη, Soph. El. 301; χάνῃ δὲς ἄπαν, Theocr. 15. 148.

§ 8. τελευτήσω.] The infinit. is added after τύχῃ ἐπίστησον by way of explanation, and is thus equivalent to the inf. with ὦστε. So καλεσθαι, 176. 1; εἶναι, II. 121. 6. The antithesis between the ἀνάλφης and the ἐπιστήσας in the next sentence is not very sharply defined. Since the ἐπιστήσας might end miserably, he might turn out to be ἀνάλφης (§ 11, 12). But if the good fortune of the ἐπιστήσας is sufficient to ward off ἀτη (§ 10), why should it not be sufficient to ward off a miserable end? And why should a rich man be ἀνάλφης, if he can endure great misfortunes, and if it is only after death that a man can properly be called ὄλβιος or ἀνάλφης? Aristotle criticizes Solon’s view, Eth. Nic. I. 10.

§ 10.] οὐκ δ. § 6. ἐνεικ] Zeugma for ἐνεικια καὶ οἰκτελεσάται.

ἀπερος] The MSS. have ἀπερος which seems to be ‘a gloss on ἀπαθῆς, and has displaced another adj., possibly ἐπερος.’ St.

εἰνείδης] illustrates the importance which the Greeks attached to personal beauty. Compare v. 47. 2; IX. 25. 1. Aristotle says οὐκ ἐπαθαμακωτὸς ὃ τὸν ἒλεαν πανασεχθη (Eth. I. 8. 16).

§ 11. οὕτως ἀκείνως] ‘This man is worthy to be called that happy man whom thou seekest.’

§ 12. ἐπιστήσας] The infinitive is said to be more respectful than
the imperative. So Croesus uses it to Cyrus (89. 3), and Demaratus to Xerxes (VII. 209. 9).
§ 14. ἀνθρ. σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν] ‘No single mortal man taken alone.’
§ 16. σκοτεινὸν ἐκ χρῆ] Few passages in Greek literature could be more copiously illustrated than Solon’s discourse. The instability of human affairs was a never-failing theme in the Greek drama, and the real nature of happiness, as opposed to good-fortune, was a leading problem of Greek philosophy.
CH. 38. ταύτα λέγων κ.τ.λ.] As the text stands, λέγων must refer to Solon, δόξα to Croesus; and it seems best to make the change of subject immediately after ἔχαιρεν. One MS. reads ἀμαθή, which gets rid of all difficulty. But then how could the corruption ἀμαθή have arisen? In the second othere, the negative attaches only to the participle. ἀποτέλεσμα is the middle: ‘sends him from his presence.’
CH. 34. § 1. μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα ὁχήμενον ἐλάβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις 1 μεγάλη Κροῖσος ὃς εἰκάζει, ὅτι ἐνίμισε ἐνοτόν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀληθείαν. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐθυντικοὶ ἐπεστὶ ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παίδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροῖσῳ δύο 3 παιδές τῶν οὗτοι μὲν διέφθαρο τὴν ὑγατὴν θυσίας; δὲ δὲ θρεπτὸς τῶν ἥλικων μακρὸ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὐνομάζεται οἱ 4
§ 5. ἁγεῖται] The middle voice is commonly used of the bridegroom: but compare ὑλὲς δὲ Σπαρτῆσιν Ἀλέκτορος ἠγεῖτο κούρην, Hom. Od. iv. 10.

μὴ τι ἐστι] 'That he might not have one of them, as it hung, fall down upon his son.'

Ch. 35. § 1. οὐ καθαρός] 'Having his hands defiled with blood.'

τοῦ βασιλ.] Hdt.'s language does not necessarily imply that Phrygia was still under the rule of its native kings. This however might well be the case, notwithstanding its subjugation (ch. 28). Cf. 134. 5. n.

§ 2. παραπλ. ἡ καθ.] Apollonius Rhodius (iv. 693) describes the ceremony. The suppliant sat in silence on the hearth (ἐπιστιοῖο, § 3). Then the master of the house sacrificed a young pig and sprinkled the hands of the manslayer with its blood, calling at the same time on Zeus Kαθαροῦ (cf. 44. 8). See Müller's Eumenides, 52, foll.

§ 3. ἐπιστιοῖο] Before the purification it would not have been lawful to speak. So Orestes says ἔτεκτήματο ἀπόθεοισιν μὲν, ὅπως | δαίμονας γενομένην τιμῶτος τῷ αὐτῶν δίκαι. Eur. Iph. T. 951.

§ 4. Ἀδριστός] Hdt. clearly wishes his readers to notice the significance of the name (= ἄφικτος, see 43. 2). Mure thinks that Ἄτος also (34. 3) is meant to be significant of 'the youth under the influence of Ate' (Gr. Lit. iv. 326).
καὶ ἐξῆγονος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἐνθα ἀμηχανή-
σεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς, μένου ἐν ἡμετέροις. συμφορὴν δὲ 6
ταύτην ὡς κουφώτατα φέρων, κερδανέεις πλεῖστον.” ‘Ο μὲν
δὴ διαταν ἔλεγεν ἐν Κροίσου.

36 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσῶι Οὐλύμπωρ
νός χρήμα γίνεται μέγα: ὄρμεύωνος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρος
τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσθε. τολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ
ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐξελθόντες, τοιεσκοῦν μὲν οὐδὲν κακόν,
ἐπασχοῦν δὲ ἀπίκουμεν παρά τὸν Κροίσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἁγγελοὶ ἔλεγον τάδε: “Ὡς βασιλεὺς, 3
νός χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χάρῃ, ὡς τὰ ἔργα
dιαφθειρεῖ. τούτων προθυμοῦμεν ἐλέειν οὐ δυνάμεθα. τῶν
tῶν παιδαὶ καὶ λογάδας νενίας καὶ
κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἢ μὴν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χάρης.”
Οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδεόντο. Κροίσος δὲ μηνυμονεύων τοῦ 5
ὀνειροῦ τὰ ἐπει ἔλεγεν σφι τάδε: “Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ
μὴ μησθήτε ἐτί οὐ γὰρ ἄν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαμι· νεόγαμος τε
γὰρ ἑστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νῦν μέλει. Δυσῶν μὲν τὰ
λογάδας 6 καὶ τὸ κυνηγόσιον πάν συμπέμψω· καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοὺς
ἰούσι, εἰναὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον

37 ἐκ τῆς χάρης.” Ταῦτα ἀμείρατο ἀποχρωμένων δὲ τοῦ

τοῦτοι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἔπεισέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοῶν
tῶν ἐδέστοι οἱ Μυσοὶ. οὐ φαμέον καὶ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν ἑν
ταῦτα σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νενίας τάδε.’

§ 5. ἐν ἡμετέρῳ] Put for ἐν ἡμῶν or ἐν ἡμετέρῳ (cf. ἡλίου ἐν ἡμε-
tέρῳ διηθέοντο εἰλικρόδας βοῦς, Hymn. Merc. 370) ‘the gen. being retained
because the ear was accustomed to it in the case of proper names’ e.g.
ἐν Κροίσου, below. Kr.

CHR. 36. § 1. Μυσῶι[φ] To dis-
tinguish it from the Thessalian O-
lymus.

ὑν χρήμα] ‘A huge monster of
a boar.’ This form of expression
was apparently common in conversa-
tion, as it occurs frequently in Ari-
stophanes. χρήμα emphasises the
notion of size, multitude, &c. in the
adj. which invariably accompanies
it (St.). Cf. III. 109. 5; 130. 7.
γίνεται] ‘Appears.’

ἤργα] ἄγροις (ὅλως δὲ πίων ἐργα, Hom. Od. 4. 318; ἄγροις
καὶ ἔργων ἀνθρώπων, Od. vi. 259). Cf.
‘hominumque boumque labores.’

Diaφθείρεσθε] See 19. 1. n.

§ 2. μέν—δι] Instead of οὗ μή-
νον—ἀλλὰ γάλ. There seems to be a
generally a touch of humour or sar-
casm in Hdt.’s use of these anti-
theses: cf. 59. 6.

§ 5. καὶ ταῦτα οἷ] ταῦτα τοῦ γάμου. Cf. ἡμεροθόμον τε καὶ
tοῦτο μελετῶτα, vi. 105. 1.

CHR. 37. § 2. τὸν γε ταῦτά]
ge calls attention to the fact that he
"*Ω στάτε, τά κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτε καλ γενναίοτατα ἡμῶν ἦν, ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγγαρας φοιτεύοντας εὐδοκιμεένων νῦν δὲ ἄμφοτερων μὲ τοῦτων ἀποκλήθος ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὲς δειλίνην μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίαν. νῦν τε τέωσι με χρῆ 3 ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἁγόρην καὶ ζ έχορῆς φοιτεύοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοίσι πολλὴτριτι δόξῳ εἶναι; κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖοι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὅπο αὐτῇ ἡ μέθες ἑναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάστειον, ἀκος μοι ἀμείωτῳ ἐστὶ ταύτα ὅπως ποιεόμενα." Ἀμειβεται Κροῖσος 38 τοίσδε: "*Ω παί, οὔτε δειλίνην οὔτε ἅλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι, ποιεώ ταύτα: ἀλλά μοι ὅψιν ὄνειρον ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσαι ἐφ' ἑς ὁ λογοχρόνον ἐσεθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμής σιδηρείς ἀπολεέσθαι. πρὸς ὁν τὴν ὅψιν ταύτην τὸν τέτοιον τοῖς ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβάνομεν οὐκ ἀτοπέμπτῳ, φυλακὴν ἔχω, εἰ κως δυναῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ξός διακλῆσαι. εἰς γὰρ μοι μούνοις τυγχάνεις ἐδώ παίς: τὸν γὰρ δη ἑτερων, διευθαρμένον τὴν ἄκολον, οὐκ ειναι μοι λογίζομαι." Ἀμειβεται τὸ νενήθης τοίσδε: "Συν- ἐν χνώμη μὲν, ὁ πάτερ, τότε, ἴδοντι ὑπ' ὅψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ had consented to the rest of the question.

ἡμῖν = σολ καὶ ἐμοί. The use of ἡμῖν for ἡν ὦ does not occur in Homer (Kr.) and is doubtful in Hdt. Cf. 114, 5; 177, 2.


§ 3. ὁμοίως] Soph. O. T. 1371, ὅποι γὰρ οὐκ αὖ ὁμοίως τοιοῦτος βλέπων [πατέρα παίτ' ἐν προσώπων.

ἀγορην] The Lydians were a commercially active people (94, 1), but the sentiment is unmistakeably Greek.

φαίνεσθαι 'With what face is it fitting for me to show myself?'

Cf. 38. § 2. τα παραλαμβ.] 'The things which are being taken in hand;' on the analogy of παραλαμβάνων ἄρχην, λόγοι. Blakesley renders: 'to the matter of which news is brought me;' but passages like 55, 1; 119, 2, will hardly justify this meaning where the word is used absolutely.

§ 3. τὴν ἄκολον] These words have been suspected by Larcher and others as the gloss of a copyst, who was unaware of the first meaning of κωφός (34, 3). They quote in their favour τά μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιτείχη, ἄφωνος δὲ, 85, 1; and an assertion of Eustathius (commentator on Homer about A.D. 1160), παρὰ δὲ γε τοῖς ὅστεροις κωφοῖς ὁ τὴν ἄκολον βεβαιμένος. But κωφός certainly = 'deaf' in the so-called Homeric hymn to Hermes (καὶ τε τάνων μὴ τάνων ἔδωκα, καὶ κωφοῖς, ἄκορασῖ, καὶ στενὼν, 92) which though not composed till some time after B.C. 660 (Müller) must be much earlier than Hdt. The words in the text may therefore stand; though if we believe the somewhat improbable story told at 85, 4, we cannot suppose the deafness to have been continuous or complete.
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

41. Ἐἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὅ Κροίσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φήγα γε Ἀδρηστοὺς, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε: "Ἀδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοῦ οὐκ ὁνεδίῳ, ἐκάθισα, καὶ οἰκίσαι ὑποδέξαμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην νῦν ὄν ὁφελείς γὰρ, ἔμειν προτοίμασαι χρηστὰ ἐστὶ σὲ, χρηστοῖ τε ἀμείβεσθαι φύλακα παιδὸς σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρήσιο γενεᾶς ἐς ἀγρίν όρμεδένον μὴ τινες κατ᾽ ὦδον κλώτους κακοφφρονοι ἐπὶ δηλῆσαι φανέωσι ύμιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο 3 καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεοῦ ἐστι ιέναι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῦ ξέργουσι πατρῴῳ τέ γὰρ τοῦ ἔστι, καὶ προσέτιρρομεθα παραπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοῦ οὐκ ὁνεδίῳ, ἐκάθισα, καὶ οἰκίσαι ὑποδέξαμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην νῦν ὄν ὁφελείς γὰρ, ἔμειν προτοίμασαι χρηστὰ ἐστὶ σὲ, χρηστοῖ τε ἀμείβεσθαι φύλακα παιδὸς σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρήσιο γενεᾶς ἐς ἀγρίν όρμεδένον μὴ τινες κατ᾽ ὦδον κλώτους κακοφφρονοι ἐπὶ δηλῆσαι φανέωσι ύμιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο 3 καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεοῦ ἐστι ιέναι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῦξέργουσι πατρῴῳ τέ γὰρ τοῦ ἔστι, καὶ προσέτιρρομεθα παραπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοῦ οὐκ ὁνεδίῳ, ἐκάθισα, καὶ οἰκίσαι ὑποδέξαμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην νῦν ὄν ὁφελείς γὰρ, ἔμειν προτοίμασαι χρηστὰ ἐστὶ σὲ, χρηστοῖ τε ἀμείβεσθαι φύλακα παιδὸς σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρήσιο γενεᾶς ἐς ἀγρίν όρμεδένον μὴ τινες κατ᾽ ὦδον κλώτους κακοφφρονοι ἐπὶ δηλῆσαι φανέωσι ύμιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο 3 καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεοῦ ἐστι ιέναι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῦξέργουσι πατρῴῳ τέ γὰρ τοῦ ἔστι, καὶ προσέτιρρομεθα παραπληγμένον ἀchai, τὴν τοῦ o Linguistics, σε τo ἐμοῦ χρήσιο γενεᾶς ἐς ἀγρίν όρμεδένον μὴ τινες κατ’ ὦδον κλώτους κακοφφρονοι ἐπὶ δηλῆσαι φανέωσι ύμιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο 3 καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεοῦ ἐστι ιέναι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῦξέργουσι πατρῴῳ τέ γὰρ τοῦ ἔστι, καὶ προσέτιρρομεθα παραπληγμένον ἀchai, τὴν τοῦ o
42 ὑπάρχει." Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστός. "Ὤ Βασίλευ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἀν οὐκ ἦν ἐσθήκαν τοῦ ὀρέωστε οὕτως ἐστὶ ἐσμήλακας εὐ πρήσσουσας ζέναι, οὕτω τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα τολλαχῇ τε ἀν ἰχθυὸν ἐμεύνου- τίν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ σπεύδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαιρέσθαι (όφελῳ γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῦσι), ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα. παῖδα τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύει φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσουστος εἶνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.

43 Τουοῦτωσι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείβατο Κροίσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νενήγησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπίκομενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλμιόν τὸ ὄρος, ἐξῆνειν τὸ θηρίῳ εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιταύντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἐσηκῶντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ἤεινος, ἦστος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τῶν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀδρηστός, ἀκουτιζόν τὸν ὕα, τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην. ἐθεὶ δὲ τις ἀνγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ 344 παιδὸς μόρον ἐσθήμινε οἱ. ὁ δὲ Κροίσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένοι, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέστο, ὅτι μὴν ἀπέκετευε, τοῦ αὐτοῦ φόνου ἐκάθηκε. περιμεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤεινον πεποιθῶς εἶν' ἐκάλεε δὲ 'Επιστὸν τε καὶ 'Εταιρῆιον, τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον οὐνομάξων θεὸν, τὸν μὲν

CH. 42. § 1. ἐς ὁμῆλ.] 'Into the company of his fellows.' This use of ἐς implies that the persons are taken as representing a definite body or place: e.g. ἐς τῶν δικαστῶν = ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον.

ἀν ἰχθυὸν] Supply ei τὸ βούλεσθαι παρὴν (Ab.), or more simply ἄλλως; as above, and translate πολλαχῇ 'on many grounds.' There is some authority for ἄν σῳχον, 'often before (in like cases) did I restrain myself.'

§ 2. τοῦ φ. εὐκεκα] 'So far as his protector avails;' ἑρήσῃ τοῦτον εὐκεκα, III. 85. 4. The irony of φυλασσόμενος is Sophoclean. See e.g. O. T. 246, foll.

CH. 43. § 2. καθαρθεῖς] Cf. βαθφηνα, II. 81. 4. The second aspirate not being part of the root, the first aspirate is not changed. Jelf, G. G. 31.

καλ. 81 'Ἀθρ.] See note 35. 4. τοῦ μὲν] Hom. II. VIII. 119, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ρ' ἀφάμαρτεν, ὁ δ' Ἰφίσχων ...βδλε.

CH. 44. § 1. μᾶλλον τι] 'Aliquantum magis,' i.e. than he would otherwise have done (98. 7; 114. 4). For τι see 56. 1.

§ 2. τοῦ αὐτῶν τοῦτον] So we have Zeuv. Ἐκενθέριος, III. 142. 2; "Ερέκειος (the household god), VI. 68. 7, 'a small proportion of his thousand surnames,' Grote.
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἐπιστημον καλέων, διότι δή οικίσκευ ὑποδεξάμενος τῶν ξειων, φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βοσκῶν τῶν δὲ Ευανθίων, ὡς 45 φύλακα συμπεμύγας αὐτῶν, εὐρήκει πολεμιστέων. Παρθέναν ἐ
dὲ μετὰ τούτου οἱ Δυνοὶ φέροντε τὸν νεκρὸν, ὡς άπειρο
οἱ οἱ φονεῖς. στὰς δὲ οὔτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδον ἑών
τόν Κροίσων, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζει μὴν
cελέσσιν τῷ νεκρῷ. λέγον τὴν τῇ προτέρῃ ἑωτοῦ συμφορὴν,
καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ἐκείνη τὸν καθήμενα ἀπολογείκας εἰ, οὔδε οἱ εἰν
βιώσιμον. Κροίσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τὸν Ἅδρηστον 2
κατοικτείρει, καὶ περὶ ἐν τῷ ἐν κἂν ὁ ὅικεὶ εἰς τοῦτο,
καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν "Εὖχο, οἱ ξειαί, παρὰ σεῦ πάσαν τὴν ἐκφ
ἐπειδὴ σεωτοῦ καταδίκαζες θανάτον. εἰς δὲ οὔ σὺ μοὶ 3
tοῦδε τοῦ κἂν αἰτίος, εἰ μὴ ὅσιν ἀέκεν ἐξεργάσατο, ἀλλὰ
θεῶν καὶ τῶν, ὃς μοι καὶ πάλαι προσῆμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα
ἐσεσθαι." Κροίσος μὲν νῦν ἔθαψε ὥς οἰκὸς ἴν τὸν ἐωτοῦ
παίδα. Ἅδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεως τοῦ Μίδεω, οὐτὸς δὴ ἡ 4
φονεῖς μὲν τοῦ ἐωτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γενόμενος, φονεῖς δὲ τοῦ
καθήμαντος, ἐπεὶ τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ
σήμα, συγγυνωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων ἐναι τῶν αὐτῶς ἡ
caritas mutuor, εἰσὶ τῷ τύμβῳ. Κροί-
ς δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτει ἐν πενθεὶ μεγάλῳ κατήστο, τῷ παιδὸς
ἐστερημένος.

46 Ἔπε 

ἡ Ἀστυνάγος τοῦ Κυαζάρεω ἡγεμονὶς καταρχή-
θεώσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων
πρήγαμα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροίσον ἀπέπαυσε

eφρ[κτ.] 'The perf. subj. and
opt. are often found even in the case
of perfects which have not the signi-
fication of the present.' Krüger.
Ch. 45. § 1. [κα] II. 5. n.
ουθ[ε] For καὶ οὐ, there being no
previous negative notion expressed.
§ 3. οὐ σὲ μοι Hom. H. III.
164, οὗ μοι αἰτήσεις ήθελ νό μοι
αἰτίοι εἰςων.
οἵ οἰκός] Possibly this means
'as became a king's son.' The tomb
of Croesus' father was a grand ἔργον
(93. 1). Or else it simply = 'as was
natural,' ἔθαψε serving to introduce
to σήμα below.

§ 4. φονεῖς δὲ τοῦ καθ.] Not to
be taken literally. So Oedipus says
to Creon, ἵκον φονεῖς δὲ τοῦδε τὰν-
δρός (ἕμοι) Soph. O. 7. 534; and
to Polynices, ἓ το σου φόνεω μεμημέ-
νος (as my murderer), O. C. 1361.
(St). Cf. ἀπολογείκας above, § 1.

ἡσυχία τῶν] Cf. ἡσυχ. τῆς το-
λορίκης, 'peace from the siege,' vi.
135. 2; ἡσυχία ἐκείνων, Plat. Rep.
566. c. 'The genitive is objective,
ἡσυχία being equivalent to κατάμα
σις.' St.
Ch. 46. § 1. η Ἀστυνάγ. κ.τ.λ.]
Below, chs. 107—129.

3—2


δὲ ἢ σφυνίδα, εἰ κωσ δύνατο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοῦς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αἰξαμομένην τὴν δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτικά ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηλῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλληνὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Διβύῃ, δια-

πέμψας ἄλλος ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἢ Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἢ Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἢ Δοδώνην οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπεμ-

ποντο καὶ ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνων οἱ δὲ, τῆς Μιλήσης ἢς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήματι, ἢς ἀπετέμψε μαντευόμενος Κροῖος. Διβύῃς 3

dὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπτε δὲ περιεσκόμενος τῶν μαντηλῶν ὁ τι φρονεόντες ὡς, εἰ φρονεόντα τὴν ἀληθείαν εὔρεθη, ἐπείρηται σφε 

deutera πέμπων, 47 εἰ ἐπιχειρεῖ οὕτω Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. Ἐνετιλάμενος δὲ 

tοῦτοι Λυδοῖς τάδε ἀπεπειράται ἢς τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν χρηστη-

ρίων ἢς ἢς ἡμέρας ὁμιληθείσης ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπό ταύτης ἡμερολογεύοντας τὸν λυτὴν χρόνον, ἐκατοστή ἡμέρη χαράσθαι 

tοῦτοι χρηστηρίσας, ἐπιρρετέοντας ὁ τι ποιέων τυχάνων ὁ 

Λυδῶν βασιλέως Κροῖος ἢς Ἀλμάττεως. ἀσσα ὅ ἢν ἐκατά 

tῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίζη, συγγραφαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' 

ἐωτόν. ὁ τι μὲν νῦν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἔθεσπισε, 3 

οὗ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ἦς ἐσῆλθον τά-

καταλαβεῖν] Transitive.

καταλαβεῖν] This (=occupare) is better than καταλαβεῖν. Croesus had not yet formed the idea of crushing the Persian power: compare 53. 2 with 54. 1.

§ 2. τοῦ ἐν Διβ.] 'The one in L.' In Egypt there were numerous oracles (II. 83. 1), but as Hdt. is here probably speaking of the country (not the continent) of Libya, this passage does not bear upon the question whether he included Egypt in the African continent. See II. 17. 2, note. Three of the Greek oracles mentioned here belong to Apollo, those at Delphi and Abae, and the oracle of the Branchidae (see note, 92. 2). The Dodonaean oracle belonged to Zeus (II. 55. 4). The oracles of Amphiaras and Trophonius (VIII. 134) were the most important among those belonging to heroes. Besides these Hdt. elsewhere mentions oracles of Apollo at Patar (II. 181. 2), Telmessus (II. 78. 2), Ismenion (VIII. 134, 2), and Ptoon (VIII. 135. 1), and an oracle of Zeus at Olympia (VIII. 134. 2).

[ναυ] Cf. τελευτήσαι, 32. 8, n.

§ 3. Ἀμμωνα] See II. 42. 7.

§ 3. το φρονεόν] 'what manner of wisdom they had.'

Seutera] Cf. 4. 3, n.

ἐπιχειρεῖν] The opt. is used as the form which the deliberative subj. assumes in oratio obliqua in past time (53. 1, n.).

CH. 47, § 1. ἄν τις] i.e. ἄν ταῦ-

tης ὑ.

§ 3. μάρτυρον = διάτυπον, 159. 5.

note.
χιστά ἐστὶ τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Δυνοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπειράτευον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε:

Οἰδα δὲ ἐγὼ ψάμμον τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνίστη, καὶ οὐ φωνεύτος ἀκοῦω.

'Ομιᾷ μ' ἐστὶ φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνου χελώνης ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἄμφ' ἀρνεύσεως κρέσσων, ἡ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δὲ ἐπιστάται.

48 Ταῦτα οἱ Δυνοὶ θεσπισάσθης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραφάμενοι ἐν οἴχοντο ἀπίστικτες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τοὺς περιφερέντες παρῆσαν φέρουσε τους χρησμοὺς, ἐνδήπερ ὁ Κρόιδος ἐκεῖνο ἀναπτύσσει ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετο μιν' ὁ δὲ, ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ήκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετο τε καὶ προσεδέχετο, νομίζας μοῦν οἷον μαντήνιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκει τὰ αὐτῶς ἐπολίσε. ἐπεί τε γὰρ δὴ διέσπευσε πατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια χρησόμενοι]

This verb, which, as the middle voice of χρᾶω, properly = 'to have an answer given one,' 'to consult,' here takes a dativus on the analogy of χρησθα, uii (cf. 53. 2; 157. 5). 'Usuri deo' may be a violent expression, as Schwyzer says, but it would be worse to construct τῷ θεῷ with ἐσθίλθον ὡς τὸ μέγαρον.

Ἡ Πυθίη] Usually the utterances of the Pythia were recast by the προφήτης (VIII. 37. 1; 135. 3; VII. 311. 2) who also wrote down the answer when completed (συγγραφάμενος above).

§ 4. Οἶδα δ' ἐγώ] With δὲ here cf. 174. 6; IV. 159. 3. So we have ἄλλα, I. 55. 2; and καὶ, VI. 19. 8. Krüger is clearly wrong in comparing these passages with the use of δὲ, 32. 1. 'The particle may either imply that the verses cited are a fragment from a longer answer, or more prob. that this answer was preceded by another addressed to another enquirer.' St. Cf. VIII. 135. 2. The oracle could only be consulted on certain fixed days (54. 2. n.), and the προφήτης prob. combined into one continuous composition all the answers delivered on any one day. But we find ἄλλα at the commencement of an oracle delivered to Croesus (55. 2) after he had acquired the right of προμνήσα (54. 2). It is doubtful whether the insertion of these particles can really be explained.

κωφοὶ] 34. 3. n.

ϕωνεύτοις] Most of the oracles extant are in the Ionic dialect and in hexameters. An exception to the former rule occurs at IV. 157. 3; 159. 3: to the latter at I. 174. 6.

μ' ἐστὶ φρένας] ἐστὶ belongs to ἦλθε (66. 1, n.), φρένας being added epexegetically after μ', according to the Homeric usage, e. g. ἐστὶ σε μιάστα πῶνος φρένας ἄμφιβολος, II. vi. 355. ἡ χελώνης. For the metaphor of the coverlet compare λαίων ἐςο χιτώνα (of being stoned to death) II. III. 57.

CH. 48. § 1. οἴχοντο ἀπίστικτες] Like ἀπαμεθέμενος προφήτης, β' δ' λέγει, § 3. ἐς διὰ] See 107. 4. n. αὐτῶς] 'Added to indicate the
new subject as such.' St. More probably it = 'by himself' or 'with his own hands': cf. έφεσις αὖτος below. αὖτος thus implies the impossibility of collision: compare the use of the aorist, δείξεις:—he did not devise his plan till after the departure of his messengers.

Ch. 49. οὖτω τῷ Κρ. ἄρπ.] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, ii. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. iv. 163 foll.; v. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. i. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glauclus, vi. 86. 13: cf. 1. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medizing party in Greece: see viii. 141; Grote, H. G. iii. 488 (v. 200); cf. also Hdt. v. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, i. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, i. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at i. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to clairvoyance. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομίζει.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (κατεκολυμμένοι τῷ Ἀμφιάραω, viii. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὔτε τῶν i.e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἂν]: As if περὶ τοῦτον had preceded, άλλο γε being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of πλην. So Thuc. iii. 85. 2, ἀπόγνωσιν τὸ άλλο τι ή κρατεῖν vir¬tually=ἀπόγνωσιν πάντων πλην τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make άλλο γε depend on εἶπεν, placing οὐ γάρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour ix. 8. 3.

ἐκτίθεναι] 'That he had got in this too a true oracle.' Abich reads καί τούτον, i.e. Amphaiarous too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. ii. 174. 3.

Ch. 50. § 1. πάντα] 'Ε quo¬que genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.' Herm. ad Verg. 94. Cf. 103. 2, n.; ii. 91. 5. Here it might mean 'a full three thousand' (so often in Hom. with numerals); were it not for the analogy of πάντα δέκα, iv. 88. 1; ix. 81. 3, where it must = ἐκάστου γένους.
ἐθυνε, κλίνας τε ἐπειρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φίλας χρυσεάς, καὶ εἴματα πορφύρα, καὶ κιθώνας, νήσας πυρήν μεγάλην, κατέκαυεν ἐπλίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τὸ τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι: Ἀλοῦσι τε πάσι προειπέ, θυεὶν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοι ἐκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἔκ τῆς θυσίας ἐγένετο, καταχείμενος χρυσὸν ἀπλετοῦ, ἡμιπλίθωμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλανε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιεῖν ἐξάπαλαστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαστα, ὤφος δὲ παλαιστιαία, ἀριθμῶν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ τούτων ἀπέθεθι χρυσὸν 3 τέσσαρα, τρίτων ἡμιτάλαντον ἐκαστον ἐλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίθωμα λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέθεθον, ἐλκοὺσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὕτως ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ο ὁ ἐν 5 Δελφοῖς νησὶ, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλιθῶν ἐπὶ γαρ τούτοις Ἑρωτο καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμον ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γαρ αὐτοῦ 51 τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπτε ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τέθε ἄλλα ἁμα τούτοις, κρητήρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλον, χρύσεων καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν δὲ μὲν χρύσεως ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσείντι ἐς τὸ νησί, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τῶν νησῶν.
At the angle of the fore-court, i.e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the porch from the fore-court.

Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i.e. the sun). St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.

As if we had had of famine instead of famine (φαμένων φέρον)

This probably means 'of no note' (II. 20. 1). But cf. χρυσόν εξάνησον, ἄσπον, IX. 41. 3, χείματα 'Bowls,' L. and S. Lex. But χείμα ought to mean the thing poured, not the receptacle. More probably here it = 'castings,' (Stein). ἄρτοκοπον χυτά, Π. 69. 2; χείμα φαυνον κασαντέρον, Hom. Π. Ι.X. 3. 561.

According to Plutarch, she had saved Croesus from being poisoned.

The necklace off his wife's neck.
Τούτοι δὲ ἀγείων μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταύτα τὰ δῶρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖςος ἐπειρωτὰν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖςος, καὶ εἰ τῶν στρατῶν ἄνδρῶν προσθέειτο φίλον. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐστὶ σὰ ἄπειρον πέμφησαν οἱ Λυδῶν ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἔχρεωντο τούτοι χρηστήριοι λέγοντες: "Κροῖςος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλέως, νομίσας τάδε μαντήρια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἐδώκει τῶν ἑξευρήματος, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτὰ, εἰ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἰ τῶν στρατῶν ἄνδρῶν προσθέειτο σύμμαχον." Οἱ μὲν ταύτα ἐπειρωτέουσι τοὺς δὲ μαντητῆς ἀμφότεροιν ἐστὶν τῶν ἀρχηγῶν συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαν Κροῖςο, ἢν στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἄρχην μιν καταλύσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων

Ch. 52. τὴν παθοτον.] Acc. to the legend, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Aesch. Sept. 583, ἔγγυε μὲν δὴ τὴν παραπτώματος, μάντηρι κεκευθὴ τολεμίας ὑπὸ χρυσοῦ (in Theban territory).

ὀμοίως] With χρ. παῖν, 'of gold, all over alike.'

αἰχμήτω] Properly the point, here used of the whole spear.

tὸ ἥσσον] The part in apposition with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The plural λόγχηςι denotes that the two ends of the spear are meant, both the point, the λόγχη proper (= αἰχμή) and the spike, σαυρωτήρ (VII. 41. 3), or στρατάκων (Thuc. II. 4. 3).

cal ἀμφότερα] 117. 1, n.
cal Ὄησ.] 102. 4, n.

Ch. 53. § 1. στρατεύεται... προσθάντοι] Both subj. and opt. must have a deliberative sense. For the latter, cf. εἰ ἐπιχείρω, 46. 3.
The exact force of the change of mood is very doubtful. Possibly the optative implies an additional conclusion, and thus expresses a more remote contingency: - 'and in that case whether he should take to himself.' See Jell., G. G. 809. 2. G. Hermann (Orph. iv. 90) renders προσθάντοι 'an censerent oracula socios adjungi.' 'Primo interrogat an debeat proficisci, quae ipsius est deliberatio; deinde, si debeat, an oracula id se velint cum sociis facere, idque est oracularum mente dic tum.' Compare the use of the opt. with ἦν, II. 93. 7, n. But a very possible explanation is simply that in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules had not acquired that fixity, which grammars lay down.

§ 2. ἡστὶ ταῦτα] Sc. ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοῦ χρηστοῦ.] 47. 3, n.

tάδε] Notice the plur. So ὃς below = soi, τὸ δὲ ἄμφιβορες. The form of words is one which would only be applicable to both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. καταλύσαι] By the use of the aorist, all reference to time is
54 Ἑπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνενεχθέντα τὰ θεοτρόπια ἐπώθετο ὁ Κροῖος, ἵνα ἀπερίσκηθε τε τούτων χρηστηρίζομαι, πάγχυ τε ἐξεσάς κατα-λύσεις τὴν Κύρου βασιλήν, πέμψας αὐτὸς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελ-
φοὺς δωρέσταται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἄρα δύο
στατήρισε ἐκαστὸν χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδωσαν τῷ Κροῖος καὶ Λυδοὶ προμαντήθην καὶ ἀτελείν καὶ προεβρίην,
kαὶ ἔξεινα τῷ Βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν ἀεὶ
55 χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖος ἔχρηστη-ὶ
μάζετο τῷ τρίτῳ. Ἑπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντῆτον ἀληθείν,
ἐνεφορέοτα αὐτῷ. Ἐπερώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηρία-
ξόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνιοι ἔσται ἡ μοναρχία. ἤ δὲ Πυθῆ ἡ 
οἱ χρῆ τάδε.

'Αλλ' ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖνοι βασιλείᾳ Μήδουσι γέννηται,
kαὶ τότε, Αἰδή ποδαβρῆ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' 'Ερμον
φεύγαν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεύθαι κακῶς εἶναι.

56 Τούτῳ οὖν ἐξεπεσεί τειχισμοῦ ὁ Κροῖος τολλόν τι μάλιστα τὰ
πάντων ἤσθη, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμίων οἰδάμα ἄντι ἄρδος βασιλεύ-
σειν Μήδων' οὖν ὁντὸς, οὐδὲ ἄλλος αὐτῶς, οὐδὲ ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν, παύσεσθαι

avoided := 'foretelling to Croesus his overthrow of a great dominion.' The line was Кροῖος 'Αλλ' ἐπιρρέα 
megalēn ἐρχόμενος καταλύσῃ (Aristot. 
Rhet. III. 5. 4); rendered by Cicero, 
'Kroesus Halyms penetrans magnam 
pervertet opum vim' (De Div. II. 
56).

Ch. 54. § 1. Πυθώ] 'Used in-
stead of Δελφοὺς, because this latter 
follows immediately in another sense.' 
Stein.

καὶ ἄνδρα ἐκαστὸν] Cf. 9. 5.
§ 2. προμαντήθην] Other people
had to draw lots for precedence in 
consulting the oracle, which was only 
open on certain days. Aesch. Enm. 
32, τάλω λαχῶν, ὡς νομίζεται.

ἀτελείν] This implies that there
was a fee for consultation.

προεβρίην] At the Pythian games.
Ch. 55. § 2. 'Αλλ' ὅτι ἄν] See
47. 4, note. For ἡμίωνος, see 91. 5.

ποδαβρῆ] The epithet suits the
character of the later Lydians. Cf.
kονδύνου υποδείχθαι, 155. 6.

'Ερμον] See 80. 1.

φεύγαν] 32. 12, n.

Ch. 56. § 1. πολλόν τι] A very
common use of τι in Hdt. (πολλὸς
τις once in Homer, Ἡ. VII. 156).

(Properly τις added to an adj. of
quantity or numeral renders it less
precise, e.g. ὕλινοι τινὲς, 'some few,'
tρεῖς τινές, 'three or so.' But τι
is used by Hdt. in these phrases as a
pure adverb (we have πολλῷ τι
πλῆθος, III. 116. 1, instead of πολλ-
λῷ τέρω or πολλῶν τι), and often
derives from the context an empha-
sizing force: 'something much' =
'very much.' Cf. οὗτος δ' ἂν τι, ὅλγον
τι, 185. 2, 5; μάλλων τι, 44. 1; σμύ-
κρῶν τι, II. 7. 3; ὅσον τι, I. 185. 4.

οὔ εἰ αὐτό] The nom. (instead of
the accus.) owing to αὐτός above.
κοτε της ἀρχης. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐφροντίζε ἵστορέων, τοὺς ἐν Ὁ Ἐλλήνων δυνατότατον ἐποτα προσκήπτοντα φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Δακεδαμοῦνας και Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταύτα γὰρ ἂν τα προεκεριμένα ἐστα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τὸ μὲν 3 Πελασγικών, τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικῶν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πουλυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ 4 Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέως οἴκεο γῆν τῆς Φιλατών, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἐλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν "Οσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλυμπον κρήνη, καλεμένη δὲ Ἰστιαϊώτιν" ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καμπελων, οἰκεῖ ἐν Πινδῷ, Μακεδῶν καλέμενον. ἐνθεύτων δὲ αὐτῶς ἐς τὴν Δρυσίδα μετέβη, καὶ 5 ἐκ τῆς Δρυσιδᾶς οὐτος ἐς Πελοτόνησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

§ 2. τοῦτω] Hdt. often uses the simple relative in indirect questions, just as conversely he uses ὅτι for ὅ (7. 4). 'The optative with ἄν stands in dependent interrogative sentences which would have the same form in oratio recta.' Madv. G. S. I37.

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§ 4. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'This connected account can only be viewed as an attempt to arrange and reconcile various legends. The chain of Οὐλυμπός is the place in which the Νεορίας first appear in the history of Αττικα. Müller's Νεορίας, i. 1. 1. Hellen acc. to the legend had three sons, Dorus Αεοιλας and Χυτος, this last the father of Αχαεις and Ιων.

Μακεδόν] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Ηδτ. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. αὕτη] With ἄνερ. The idea of repetition belongs only to μετέβη, not to ταύτα τοῦ.

Δρυσίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Οετα and Παρνασσος.

οὕτω] 'After all this.'

ἐς Πελ.] The migration, which is called in legend the return of the Ηρακλειδα. See Αττ. Η. G. 1. 82 (I. 130); Curtius, Hist. Greece (E.T.), I. 109; 162.
CH. 57. § 1. ὑπὲρ Τυρσ. Κρη-
στῶν Niebuhr (Hist. Rome, 1. 34)
proposes to read Κρηστῶν, i.e. Croto-
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mentions a district called Crestonia in
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ment in Niebuhr’s favour is that these
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tering the reading of the MSS.
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formerly occupied Thessaliotics (one
district of Thessaly) which borders
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Scylace were really on the Propontis,
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vi. 137; Thuc. iv. 109. 4.
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it is not easy to see the force of
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tion prob. is (i) that the term Pe-
lasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in
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mass of races, some of which after-
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the adoption of the religious rites
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possible for nations really to change
(cf. μεταβολή ἐς Ἐλληνας, § 3) their
nationality. For a summary of mo-
dern theories on the Pelasgi see
30, foll.
§ 3. τὸ Ἀττ. ἑθ. κ.τ.λ.] ‘The
converse conclusion, that the Ἀττι-
cὸν ἑθος could not have been Pe-
lasgic, would have been more correct.’
Stein. But see Curtius, i. 124.
Their language (unlike that of the "Attivikos θνος") has always been the same (i.e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (μέντοι) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

ἐπεὶ τε = εξ ὁδ.

§ 2. ἀποσχισθεῖν] So Thuc. τὰ μὲν πρὸ "Ελλήνως τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ τῶν οὐδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῇ ("Ελλάς), κατὰ θύη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν επὶ πλείστων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπιφυσικὰ παρέχοντα, 1. 3. 2.

σμικροῦ τέω] 56. 1, n. τῶν θησαυρῶν π.) πολλῶν and τῶν πολλῶν have been conjectured. Stein reads τῶν θησαυρῶν, Πελασγίων μαλλιστα(1). But the repetition κληθο—πολλῶν is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if πολλῶν be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.' τῶν θησαυρῶν = the well-known tribes which compose it.

καὶ ἄλλον] 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the "Ελληνες being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, βαρβαροί; see 193, 4, note. For instances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see 1. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3; 44. 3; 46. 4.

§ 3. πρὸς δὴ ὅν] Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But πρὸς with δὴ cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases πρὸς δὲ, καὶ πρὸς, says Krüger, who suggests πρὸς δὲ δὴ ὅν. Stein proposes πρὸς δὲ δὴ ὅν, 'earlier at least,' i.e. before their union with the Hellenes: but this involves reading Πελασγίων above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have πρὸς γὰρ, III. 91. 4, why not πρὸς δὴ here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends ἐμοὶ τε, 'quasi supplendum καὶ ἄλλω.' So often ἐμοὶ μὲν without any following δὲ.

οὐδὲ] Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

ἐν βαρβ.] So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.
new subject as such.' St. More probably it = ‘by himself’ or ‘with his own hands’: cf. ἔφεε αὐτὸς below. 

αὐτὸς thus implies the impossibility of collusion: compare the use of the aorist, διέσεμεν:—he did not devise his plan till after the departure of his messengers.

Ch. 49. οὖτω τῷ Κρ. ἥρ.] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put 'on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, Π. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. IV. 163 foll.; v. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. I. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glauccus, VI. 86. 13: cf. I. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medising party in Greece: see VIII. 141; Grote, H. C. III. 488 (v. 200); cf. also Hdt. v. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, I. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, I. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at I. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to clairvoyance. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομίζω.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (κατευκολυτεῖ τὰ Ἀμφιάρρων, VIII. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὖτε τούτο] i.e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἂ.] As if peri τούτου had preceded, ἄλλο ἢ being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of πλήν. So Thuc. III. 85. 2, ἀπόγυνα τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν virtually = ἀπόγυνα πάνων πλήν τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make ἄλλο γε depend on εἴπα, placing οὖ γάρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour IX. 8. 3.

ἐκήθησαν] ‘That he had got in this too a true oracle.’ Abicht reads καλ τούτον, i.e. Amphiarous too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. II. 174. 3.

Ch. 50. § 1. τῆς τῶν.] ‘Ε τοιούτου genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.’ Herm. ad Viger. 94. Cf. 163. 2, n.; II. 91. 5. Here it might mean ‘a full three thousand’ (so often in Hom. with numerals), were it not for the analogy of παίς δέκα, IV. 88. 1; IX. 81. 3, where it must = ἐκάστον γένοι.
This correction for τριάντα ἡμιτάλαντα (1 ⅔ talents) is most probably right, since Hdt. must have known that gold alloyed with silver (λευκός) is lighter than pure gold.

§ 4. Λεόντος | 84. 3. n.

§ 5. κατεκαίετο | B.C. 548. Cf. II. 180. 1.

[ὑπρυτο] The four bricks would form the top of the pedestal. ‘The remaining 113 were divided so that the second stage from the top would consist of 15 (= 5 by 3), the third of 35 (= 7 by 5), the fourth of 63 (= 9 by 7).’ Abicht.

[Ἑβ. ἰμ. 1] 6 ½ + 3 ½ = 10.

[Ch. 51. § 1. μεγάθει] This simply = ‘in size.’ Cf. μεγάθει μικρόν, II. 74. 1.

[διόμεν] 14. 4. n.

§ 2. ὑπό | ‘Upon occasion of.’

See II. 36. 2. n.

ἀνακτήσεσθαι] Krüger translates ‘win back again,’ ‘because the doubt implied in his question might have offended the god.’ But this seems fanciful. See L. and S. Lex.

§ 2. τούτῳ] So the abl. in Latin. ‘Cum faciam vitula,’ Virg. Ecl. iii. 77: ‘Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, Seu poscat agna, sive malit haedo,’ Hor. Od. i. 4. 11. Or (less probably) τούτῳ ὑπὸ τὴν δεξαμένη ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν ὕπο τῶν νησίων ἀνακτήσεσθαι.

διάκεισθαι] ‘On their longer side,’ ‘lengthwise.’

§ 3. τριτὸν ἡμιτ. | 2⅔ talents.
At the angle of the fore-court, i.e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the νησός from the fore-court.

3. έπικρανταὶ γὰρ γὰρ explains how the number of ἄμφοτεροι is known.

The Confessor. 'Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i.e. the sun).'

St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

tὸ συντεχνόν This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

4. περισσατηρία] Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

'Αμφίαρεφ, πυθόμενος αυτοῦ τὴν τῇ ὁρετῆ καὶ τῇ πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεων πᾶν ὄμοιος καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεύτ

πᾶσαν χρυσέαν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆς ἱλαρχίας ἐν ὄμοιος χρύσεσσον τὰ έτοι καὶ ἀμφότερα ας ἐμὲ ἑν κείμενα εν Θηβεσκ, καὶ

Θηβαίων εν τῷ νῆσῳ τοῦ Ισιμνίων Ἀπόλλωνος.

Τοὺς δὲ ἄγεις μέλλοντι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δώρα ἐσὶ τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ο Κροῖος ἐπειροτᾶν τὰ χρυσηλία, εἰ

στρατεύθητι ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖος, καὶ εἰ των στρατῶν ἀνδρῶν προσθειότα ψιλὸν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι εἰς τὰ ἀπερ

πέμφθεσιν οἱ Λυδῶν ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωτο

τοὺς χρυσηλίοις λέγοντες: "Κροῖος, ο Λυδῶν τε καὶ

ἄλλων ἔθνων Βασιλεύς, νομίζας ταῦτα μαυτῆ έστω ὡμίνα

ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν τε άξια δώρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων,

καὶ νῦν ύμεῖσι ἐπειροτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύθητι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἰ

των στρατῶν ἀνδρῶν προσθειότα σύμμαχον." Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰσθερῶτεν. τῶν δὲ μαυτῆ ποτέτεροι εἰς τῶν άι γνώριμο

συνέδραμον, προσεγούσι Κροῖος, ἣν στρατεύθητι ἐπὶ Πέρ-

σας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μόνον καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνων

CH. 52. τὴν πάθ. ] Acc. to the

legend, the earth opened and swal-

lowed him up. Aesch. Sept. 583,

ἐγώγε μὲν δὴ τηνθε πιανο χθόνα, | μάτι πεπεκενθής πολεμιας ὑπὸ χθόνος

(in Theban territory).

ὄμοιοι] With χρ. πάν, 'of gold,

all over alike.'

ἀλχήν] Properly the point, here

used of the whole spear.

tὸ ξυστὸν] The part in apposition

with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The

plural λόγχαι denotes that the two

ends of the spear are meant, both

the point, the λόγχη proper (= αλχή-

ν) and the spike, σαυρωστήρ (vii.

41. 3), ὀ στρατικῶν (Thuc. II. 4. 3).”

καὶ ἀμφότεραι] 117. 1, n.

καὶ Θηβ. ] 102. 4, n.

CH. 53. § 1. στρατεύεται... στρατικός] Both subj. and opt.

must have a deliberative sense. For

the latter, cf. et επεξερευώ, 46. 3.

The exact force of the change of

mood is very doubtful. Possibly the

optative implies an additional con-

dation, and thus expresses a more

remote contingency:—' and in that

case whether he should take to him-

self.' See Jelf, G. G. 809. 2. G.

Hermann (Orusc. iv. 90) renders

προσφέρεται "an conscient oracula

socciis adjungii." ' Primo interroga-

t an anbebat proficiisci, quae ipsi est de-

liberatio; deinde, si debit, an ora-

cula id se velit cum sociis facere,

idque est ex oracularum mente dic-
								
tum.' Compare the use of the opt.

with βω, II. 93. 7, n. But a very

possible explanation is simply that

in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules

had not acquired that fixity, which

grammars lay down.

§ 2. εἰ τὰ] Sc. ἵππα.

ἐχρ. τοὺς χρυστέρ.] 47. 3, n.

τάδει] Notice the plur. So ὅμων

below = σοι, ὁ Φοῖβος, καὶ σοι, ὁ Ἀμ-

φίαρες. The form of words is one

which would only be applicable to

both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. καταλύσαι] By the use of

the aorist, all reference to time is
Δυσαναγωγήσι αυτοί εξευρίσκονται βέβαια προσβέβαια.

Α' Επει δει ανευκριντη τα θεοτρόπια ἐπιθετο ὁ Κρεώς, ε' ὑπερήφανος τε τούτοι χρηστηρίσιοι, πάγχυ τε ἐπιτάχθανο καταλύωνο τήν Κύρου Βασιληίην, τέμφασι αὐτοὶ ἐς Πυθα Κρεώς δορέται, πυθόμενοι αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρισι ἐκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δε' ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς τῇ Κρεώς καὶ Δυσδοΐς προμαντήθηντα καὶ ἀτελεῖαν καὶ προέρθησαν, καὶ εξείται τῷ ὑμουμενῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφον ἐς τὸν ἄεί

55 χρόνον. Δορησάμενος δε' τούς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κρεώς ἐχρηστήριον μέξετο τῷ τρίτον. ἔπει θε' γαρ δὴ παρελαβα του μαντήλοις ἀληθείᾳ, εὐφροσύνῃ τούτου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάδε χρηστηρίσιομεν, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνων ἐσται ἡ μουσαρχία, ἡ δὲ Πυθῆνα ὁ Χρῆτα τάδε

ἈΛΛ' ὁτ' ἀν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδους γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Δυνά ποδαβρῆ, πολυπήμα ταρ' Ἐρυμον
φεύγων, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεύοναι κακῶς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τείσι ἐπει τοῦ Κρεώς πολλῶν τι μᾶλλον τα τάντων ἡσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον σωθαμα ἀντ' ἄνδρός βασιλεύονειν Μήδων' οὐδ' ὁν αὐτῶς, οὐδὲ οί ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παίσχεσθαι.
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Μακεδονίαν] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Hdt. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. ἀντὶς] With ἐνθέτειν. The idea of repetition belongs only to μετέβη, not to ἐν τῷ Δρ.

Ἀρνοπίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Oeta and Parnassus.

ὁπῶς] 'After all this.'

ἐς Παλ.] The migration which is called in legend the return of the Heracleidae. See Grote, H. G. I. 83 (I. 130); Curtius, Hist. Greece (E. T.), I. 109; 163.
CH. 57. § 1. Τύρος. Κρηστώνα] Niebuhr (Hist. Rome, i. 34) proposes to read Κρήστωνα, i.e. Croton or Cortona in Etruria. But Hdt. mentions a district called Crestonia in Thrace (VII. 124. 3; 127. 2; VIII. 116. 1) and Thuc. places Τυρσηνοὶ in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos (iv. 109. 4). The main argument in Niebuhr’s favour is that these Τυρσηνοὶ were Pelasgi (Thuc. l. c.) and ought therefore to have spoken the same language as the people of Creston, which acc. to Hdt. was not the case (below, § 4). This however is not a sufficient reason for altering the reading of the MSS.

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σύνοικοι γύ. 'Δό] Cf. II. 51. 2; VI. 137; Thuc. iv. 109. 4.

τὸ σύνομα μετέβαλε] Changed the name (though they really are Pelasgic).

βαρβαρον γλώσσαν] Grote rightly points out that these words imply a substantive language different from Greek, H. G. ii. 46 (ii. 354); but the difference need not be greater than that between Latin and Greek, or Anglo-Saxon and English. On the Indo-European origin of the Pelasgi most modern authorities are agreed. The main difficulty in Hdt.’s account is the relation between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. If the latter were originally a branch of the former (cf. 58. 2), it is not easy to see the force of the sharp contrast which he draws between the two. The explanation prob. is (1) that the term Pelasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in a wider sense to denote the whole mass of races, some of which afterwards became Hellenic (so the ancient name of Hellas is said to have been Pelasgia, II. 56. 1), and (ii.) in a narrower sense to denote a special tribe (with a distinct language of its own) which resisted Hellenic influence: (2) that Hdt.’s notion of nationality was different from the modern idea. With him it was a religious question, since every nation derived its origin from some divine or semi-divine ἐπώνυμος. Thus by the adoption of the religious rites (and ἐπώνυμοι) of other tribes it was possible for nations really to change (cf. μεταβολή ἐς Ἑλληνας, § 3) their nationality. For a summary of modern theories on the Pelasgi see Smith’s Dict. Geogr. Add Curtius L. 30, foll.

§ 3. τὸ Ἀττ. Ἕβων κ.τ.λ.] ‘The converse conclusion, that the Ἕβων could not have been Pelasgic, would have been more correct.’ Stein. But see Curtius, i. 124.
Their language (unlike that of the *Athenians* and *Troyans*) has always been the same (i.e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (μέντοι) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

So Thuc. *πρὸ τοῦ Ἐλλήνος τοῦ Δευκάλιωνος καὶ τῶν οὖδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὐτῆς ('Ἐλλᾶς'), καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἢ ἄλλα τέκνα τοῦ Ἐπεσκεψεν ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ ἐπικλήσεως ἐπὶ τὸν ἔπος τῆς παραγόντος ἐξ ἐνεργοῦ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως παρέχεσθαι, I. 3.

*ομικροῦ τέου* 56, 1, π.

*τῶν ἔθνων πτ.* πολλῶν and *τῶν πολλῶν* have been conjectured. Stein reads *τῶν ἔθνων, Πελασγῶν μᾶλλον* (!). But the repetition *πλῆθος—

*pολλῶν* is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if *πολλῶν* be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.'

*τῶν ἔθνων* = the well-known tribes which compose it.

*καὶ ἄλλων* 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the "*Ελληνες* being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, *βαρβαροί*; see 193, 4, note. For instances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see 1. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3, 44. 3, 46. 4.

*§ 3. πρὸς δὴ ὄν* Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But *πρὸς* with *δὴ* cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases *πρὸς ὃς, καὶ πρὸς*, says Krüger, who suggests *πρὸς δὴ δὴ ὄν*. Stein proposes *πρὸς ὃς* *δὴ* ὃν, 'earlier at least,' i.e. before their union with the Hellenes; but this involves reading *Πελασγῶν* above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have *πρὸς* *γὰρ, III. 91. 4, why not *πρὸς* *δὴ* here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends *ἐμοὶ* *τῇ, quasi supplendum καὶ ἄλλῳ.* So often *ἐμοὶ* *μὲν* without any following *δὲ.*

*οὐδὲ* Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

*ἐν βαρβάροι.* So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.
Τούτου δὲ ὁν τῶν ἑθνῶν τὸ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ κατεχόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος, τούτου τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἐστὶ ιδιώτη καὶ θεωρέοντα τὰ Ὀλίμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαι τότε αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱππαρχεῖ, οἱ λέβητες ἐπιστεφθεῖς, καὶ κρεῦν τῇ ἐντες ἐμπλεκόμενοι ἡμῖν ἡμῖν πῦρ ἔστε αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χήλων δὲ ὁ Δακεδαμίωνος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεσάμενος τὸ τέρας αὐθεντοῦ ἰπποκράτει, προῦτα μὲν γνωστὰ τεκνοποιοῦν μηδὲν ἐστὶ αὐτῷ οἷκα· εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὰ τῶν γνωστά ἐκπέμπειν καὶ εἰ τίς οἱ τυχαῖοι εἴδον πάνιν· τούτου ὑπειπασθῆναι οὐκ ὅνι, ταῦτα παρανόεστον Χήλωνος, πειρατῆς θέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτα ἐγένεσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Πεισιστράτου τοῦτον, δὲς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλοιπον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προστεθῶν τῶν Μεγάλων τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Δυκαῦργου τοῦ Ἀριστοτείδου, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἡγείρῃ τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασᾶτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερκριπτῶν προστατός, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐσώτερον τε καὶ ἤμονος ἡλαστέες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος, ὃς ἐκπεφυγὼς τός ἑξήροις, οἳ μὲν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρόν ἠδέλθησαν ἀπολέσας δὴθεν ἐδέετο τε ἐς τὸν δήμον φυλακῆς τινὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδεκημῆσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρίσσας.

CH. 59. § 1. τὸ μὲν] See 65. 1. ὑπὸ Πεισ. This strictly only belongs to καταχρόμενον.

διεσπασμένον] Sc. ὑπὸ στάσεως. Pisisistratus first made himself despot B.C. 560. He died B.C. 527. According to the 'Parian Chronicle,' (an old inscription which forms part of the Arundel marbles,) the second embassy of Croesus to Delphi (53. 1) took place B.C. 556.

§ 2. ἡμῖν] i.e. he was not a τυράννος, though his son became one. ἐπιστεφθεῖς est over the unlighted fuel.

§ 4. οὐκ ὅν] See note, II. 139. 3. τῶν παράλοιπον κ.τ.λ.] See Grote, H. G. II. 300 (III. 127). The Megacles mentioned here was the son-in-law of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and the father of Cleisthenes the Athenian reformer. VI. 130.

Ἀριστοτείδεω] τοῦ which had prob. dropped out before this word was inserted by Schäfer.

καταφρονήσας καταφρ. lit. = 'to think at' (kata- denoting fixity) and so 'to aim at' a thing. Cf. καταφρονοῦντες ταῦτα (VIII. 10), which combines this meaning with the more common one of thinking down upon.

§ 5. τῷ λόγῳ] Cf. 205. 1.

ἑβηστο τ. 8. φ] Plato mentions τῷ τυραννικὸν αὐτῆμα τὸ πολυβρολότων... αἰτεῖν τὸν δήμον φυλακᾶς τινα τοῦ σώματος, οὐ σὰς αὐτός ἐν τῷ δήμου βοηθῆς. Rep. VIII. 566.

πρὸς Μεγαρίσσας] Τhis may poss-
sibly refer to some later war than that between Athens and Megara which took place before B.C. 594 (see note 30. 9), i.e. nearly forty years before this movement of Pisistratus to acquire the despotism.' Grote:—who however thinks that this allusion is really a mistake on the part of Hdt., and compares it with Hdt.'s account of the interview between Solon and Croesus. H. G. ii. 350 (III. 208). Nisaea was the harbour of Megara.

§ 6. 8. μὰν οὐκ...κ. 84] 36. 2. n.
§ 7. ἐπὶ τῇ τούτῳ καταλαβ. 'It is said that he once even suffered himself to be cited for trial before the senate of Areopagus.' Aristot. Pol. viii. 12. 2 (Congr.). Thuc. says ἐπετήθεσαν ἐπὶ πλείων ὅπ χρήσατον ὅτι τῷ παλαιῷ οὖτοι (P. and his sons) ὑπήρχον καὶ ἔνεμον. VI. 54. 5.

καὶ ἓναυσι ἐν μὲν ὅπως (19. 4. n.).

CH. 60. § 3. ἐκ νέους] Cf. 108. 6. ἐπὶ τῇ τυρ. Lit. 'on condition of,' and so = 'for,' like ἐπὶ μαθημ. 160. 4. § 4. ἐπὶ τῇ κ. 'To bring about his return.'

ἐνθέσθαι] 'Hdt.'s criticism brings to our view the alteration and enlargement which had taken place in the Greek mind during the century between Pisistratus and Pericles.' Grote.

ἐπετερα...ἐι καλ] Both clauses depend on the notion of wonder implied in the superlative, 'marvelously simple,' considering (1) the general character of the nation, (2) the particular time and place.
§ 5. τρεῖς δακτύλους] Hdt.'s smaller measures of length are the δάκτυλος (=3 in.); παλαιστή (only in adjectival forms := 4 δακτ., 3 in.); σπαθαμή (=12 δακτ., 9 in.); πούς (=16 δακτ., 12 in.); πυγών (=20 δακτ., 15 in.); πήχυς (=24 δακτ., 18 in.); ὄργυα (=96 δακτ., 6 feet). In Hom. we have the δώρον (=παλαιστή), the πούς, the πυγών (all in adj. forms), and the ὄργυα.

§ 6. οἷς τί] The order is οἷς τί ἔχουσα ἐμέλλε ἐπιπρεπέστατον (ἐχούσα) φανέρωσα.

§ 8. δήμους] 'The village communities' opposed to οἷς τῷ ἄστει. Cf. 62. 2. For an account of them, see Grote, H. G. ii. 273 (III. 85).

ἐνδροτον] Used instead of γυναίκα, to heighten the contrast with θεών. Tr. 'their fellow-mortal.'

CH. 61. § 2. οἷς unlike ἀρε and ὀστέ (8. 2, n.) implies that the gen. states the reason, ὃς on the other hand (e.g. 124. 7) represents the action of the participle as the view of some particular person. The full phrase would be τοιαύτα πολὼν οἷς εἰκύδ ἢ ποιεῖν τῷ, κ.τ.λ.

ἐναγών] See v. 70, 71; Thuc. i. 126. The Megacles who incurred the curse would seem to have been the grandfather of the Megacles mentioned here,
δεινόν τι ἐσχέ, ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὡς ἐλεγεῖ, καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖς στασιώτησι. μαζὶ θῶν ἐστὶ Πεισιστράτος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπὶ ἑωτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐστὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἐσβολεῖετο ἀμα τοῖς παῖσι. ἐπεὶ δὲ γνώμην νικήσαν τοῖς, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὁπίσω τῆς τυραννίδα, ἐνθαύτα ἤγειρον διώτι τῆς κατοικίας ἐκ τῶν πολιων, αἱ τινὲς σφὶ προσδέτατο καὶ τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Ἰππαίων ὑπερβάλλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῦ οἱ χρόνοι διέφυ, καὶ πάντα σφὶ ἐξῆρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτωδον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείων μαθωτὸι ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννῆσου καὶ Νάξιων σφὶ αὐτὴν ἀπογμένου ἔθελοντος, τῷ ὀνόμα τῷ Ἀὐγυ- δαίμων, προθυμῆν πλείοντι παραπεῖξε, κομίζας καὶ χρήματα 62 καὶ ἀνδρας. Ἔξ Ἐρέτριας δὲ ὀρμῆθεντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου έτεος 1 ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχους Μαρα- θῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χάρῳ σφὶ στρατοπεδευομένως οἱ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ έστεος στασιώται ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τῇ ἑκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρου, οἵ ἡ τυραννίς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἴν ασπαστότε- ρον. οὖντοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίξοντο. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ άστεος, ἠώς μὲν Πεισιστράτος τὰ χρήματα ἥγειρε, καὶ μετα- αὐτίς ἐσχέ Μαραθώνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τῇ ἓν ἐπίθυμον ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀστυ, οὐτω δὲ δυνηθερεύον ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ οὕτω ἐκ τῆς πανοπλιᾶς 4 ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ αμφὶ Πεισιστράτου, οἵ ὀρ- μηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθώνος ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀστυ, ἐσ τῶντο συναν- τες ἀπικόνονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἰδον, καὶ ἀντὶ
63 Ὅ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρὰ τάδε. Πεισιστράτως δὲ, συλλαβών τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ φασὶ δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθέν, ἐπήγε τὴν στρατιὰν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οἱ έκ ἄστεος πρὸς ἀριστον τε-τραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαύτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὑπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισιστράτως ἐπισκόπησατο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσιν. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, Βούλην ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισί-3 στρατός ἐπιτεχνίαται, ὅκως μήτε ἀλλοθείεν ἐτί οἱ Αθηναίοι, διεσκεδασμένοι τε ἐδείκνυσιν τά παϊδάς ἐτὶ ἤπειρο προσεμπεμεῖ τοῖς καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φευγόντας, ἔλεγον 4 τὰ ἐντεταλμένα υπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσεῖες τε κελεύουσι, 64 καὶ ἀπεναι ἐκαστός ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐθεντο τὰ βπλα.] In many passages where this phrase is used immediately before an engagement (e.g. v. 74, 3) it seems to mean no more than 'armati consistebant,' i.e. kept their line with grounded arms. See Grote IV. 242 (VI. 153). But elsewhere (clearly here) it denotes piling arms as a preliminary to bivouacking. See IX. 52, 3 where it is used as equivalent to στρατοσεβάσθαι. So τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς τείχους τὰ βπλα ἐκεῖνοι, of the Spartans stationed in front of the rampart at Thermopylae (VII. 208. 3).

§ 5. θην πομαξ χρ. = ἐκθεσὶων below. Cf. θην τιχή, 126. 7.

'Ακαρνάνα] Plato (Theages, 124. d) calls Amphiltus τῶν ἡμεδαπῶν, which has led Valckenaër to suggest 'Αχαρνεῶς as the true reading. But Bähr is right in retaining 'Ακαρνάνα. We hear of other soothsayers from Acarnania, and neighbouring districts (VII. 221. 1; IX. 38), and the form Amphilytus is illustrated by the fact that Thuc. mentions an Acarnanian named Theolytus, π. 102. 2. (Schw.) χρησμολόγος Used of an interpreter and arranger of oracles VII. 6. 4. Cf. VII. 142. 7.

'Ερριπται δ'] If we are to attempt to explain the particle δ', its occurrence would seem to imply that the prophecy was an adaptation and not original (so Stein). But see 47, 4, note. With the metaphor of δίκτυον, cf. κύρην, 191. 8; ἐσαγ-νευον, VI. 31. 2.

Ch. 68. § 2. δι] 'Scilicet; in colloquial English, 'only fancy that.'

μετεξέτερον Subdivided into οἱ μὲν—οἱ δὲ.

§ 3. μήτε...τα] 'Nec (non solum non)—et (sed etiam). Bähr. Cf. 99. 2; 119. 6; 160. 6.

tοὺς παῖδας] His sons were Hippias, Hipparchus and Thessalus (Thuc. i. 20. 3).

§ 4. ἐκαστος] Probably right, though most recent editors have corrected to ἐκαστο. The passage is
'Αθηναίων, ούτω δ' Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχῶν 'Αθήνας, ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούριος τε πολλοῦσι καὶ χρη-μάτων συνόδουσι, τῶν μὲν αὐτοθεί, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνων ποταμοῦ συνιόντων ὀμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινὰντων 'Αθη-ναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτικα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστή-σας ἐς Νάξου καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέφατο πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγάμιν' πρὸς γε ἐν τούτοις, τὴν νήσου Δήλου καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὀδὴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἤθελον ἐπονομάζετο τοῦ ἱδέαν εἰχε, ἐκ τούτου τῷ χώρῳ παντὸς ἔξωρεις τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρει ἐς ἄλλοι χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐπιτάννευε 'Αθηναίων 'Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν εν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτόκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ Ἀλκμαιωνίδου ἐφευγών ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης.

65 Τοὺς μὲν νῦν 'Αθηναίων τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπινεθάνετο ὁ Κρίσσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας, καὶ ἔσται ἢδη τῷ πολέμῳ

a strong instance of that mixture of oratio obliqua and oratio recta, which is so common in narratives of past events, e.g. έκείνου τῆς ἑώρας ὀλίκεσα δικοῦ βουλοῦνται (for βου-λούσα, the actual word used being βουλεύσα) 1. 163. 3. So here έκα-στος is retained, notwithstanding ἀνέταται. With this passage may be compared Thuc. v. 50. 1, ἡξίων (οἰ 'Ελείας) Λέσπρον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι (τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους), εἰ μὴ βουλοῦν-ται ἀναβάνται ἡ (three MSS. ἀναβάνται) ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Δίως, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσαι τῷ λεπτῷ, ἀπενίκτοι κ.π.λ. VII. 48. 1, (ὁ Νίκαις οὐκ ἐβεύσιτο) ἐμφανῶς σφάς ψηφιζομένου τοῖς πολεμίωσι καταγ-γελθέντας γίγνεσθαι λάβειν γὰρ άυ, ὅτο καὶ βούλωσα, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλοὶ ἢσυμ. Hom. Ι. Χ. Χ. 257, ἦσον τῶν Ζευδά πρῶτο...μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρογτικὴ χείρ ἐπενείκαι, ὧν εὖν πρόφασιν ἱκρημένον οὔτε τεν ἄλλου.

CH. 64. § 1. τὸ τρίτον σχῶν] 'The exact place of the years of exile in the reign of Pisistratus has been differently determined by the conjectures of chronologers.' Grote.

τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ] Grote suggests that τῶν μὲν refers to χρημάτων and τῶν δὲ to ἐπικούριοι, but the natural sense of the passage is that P. had property both in Attica and Thrace. There is nothing so strange in the fact that this is the only notice which we find of his possessions on the Strymon.

αὐτόθεν] The sources of his revenues in Attica were partly the silver mines at Laurium (vii. 44. 1), partly the tax of five per cent. (ἐκκοστῆν) which he imposed. Thuc. vi. 54. 5. § 2. Δήλου καθήρας] Thuc. (III. 104) mentions this in very similar words (οὐχ ἀπασαν ἀλλ' ἄλων ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτοῦ ἐφευραῖο-τῆς νῆσου).

ἐκ τῶν λογίων] The Athenians were also said to have carried out their later purification (B.C. 426) in obedience to an oracle, but Thuc. (I. c.) rather implies that the oracle was invented for the occasion (καὶ θράσον δὴ τις).

CH. 65. § 1. τῷ πολέμῳ] The article assumes that the war is already known, and thus serves to introduce the story more naturally. Cf. II. 126. 3.
κατυπτερέως Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ὁγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐπρέπες ὁι Δακεδαίμονοι πρὸς Τεγεητάς μουνόν προσέπταυν. τὸ δὲ ἐτί πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομηταῖοι ἦσαν 3 σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτῶς, καὶ Ξέινοις ἀπρόσμεκτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὦδε ἐς ἐνυμομήν. Διὸ 4 κούργοι, τῶν Σπαρτιτέων δοκίμου ἅδρος, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐστὶ τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἦ Πυθία λέγει τάδε:

"Ἡκείς, ὦ Δυκόργη, ἔμων πτολί ποίνα νῦν, Ζηνὶ φιλὸς καὶ πάνω 'Ὁλυμπία δόματι' ἔχουσι. διζῷ ἦ σε θεόν μαντεῦομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἀλλ' ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον θεόν ἄπομαι, ὦ Δυκόργη.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινὲς πρὸς τούτους λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῶ τὴν 6 Πυθίαν τὸν νῦν καταστειλὰτο κόσμον Σπαρτιτήγοις. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Δακεδαίμονοι λέγονται, Δυκόργην ἐπιτροπεύοντα Δεσβιότην, ἀδελφιδέον μὲν ἔσωτοι, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρ-

§ 2. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δ. κ. τ. ἐ. About 600 b.c. Leon was the father of A-naxandrides and the grandfather of Leonidas: Hegesicles (Dor. 'Ἀγα- σίκλῆς) the father of Ariston (67. 1).

τοὺς ἄλλους τ. 'Perhaps this refers to the wars for the possession of Thyrea, ch. 82.' St. Probably also to the Messenian wars.

§ 3. καὶ κακόν] Lat. vel. 117. 1, π. κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτῶν. This is not an instance of the misplacement of τε. Hdt. means that they were κακονομηταί in two respects, partly in their domestic, partly in their foreign relations: but in the second clause, instead of καὶ πρὸς Ξέινους, he has written καὶ Ξείων ἀπρόσμεκτοι, in order to make his meaning clearer, and has thus disturbed the grammatical construction.

Ξέινους] Ξ. was the Spartan term for βούρβαρον (IX. 11. 4; 55. 3), but here it has a wider meaning.

ἐνυμομήν] Thuc. 1. 18. 1, ἢ γὰρ Δακεδαίμονων ἐπὶ πλείστων ὥς ἕσων χρόνου σταθεὶσα δύο ἐκ παλαίτατον καὶ εὐνομήν ἦ καὶ ἂν ἄρανεν-

§ 5. ἢ σε θεόν] ἦ = Att. el or πό-
terón. Hom. Od. vi. 14. 1, δὲ μερ-

 않고 ἔσωθον 'Οδυσσόν | ἦ γούσων λασσότο

λαβὼν εὐτύτῳ κούργη, | ἦ ἄσως ἐπέ-

εσον ἀπόθανα μελιχόσαι. Prob. the question is really direct: 'I doubt, shall I—or shall I?

§ 6. ἐπιτρ. Δεσβιότων] 'This would place Lycurgus about B.C. 996.' Grote. 'On the other hand Thuc. (1. 18), without mentioning Lycurgus by name, places the origin of the Spartan constitution rather more than 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war, i.e. about 820 B.C. Again all other writers represent Lycurgus as belonging to the Proclidan line of kings, whereas Labo-

τας was an Eurythesthenid. 'We have absolutely no account whatever of Lycurgus as an individual person.' Müll. Dor. 1. 7. 6.

ἐκ Κρήτης] Aristot. Pol. ii. io. 1, καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλείστα μεμηχανὰ τὴν Κρητικὴν πο-
litēian ἢ τῶν Δακώνων. See how-
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

τιπτέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέομαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε
tάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ
παραβαλέων, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ 7
τριψκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τοὺς τούτους τῶν ἐφόρους καὶ
66 γέροντας ἐστήσει Δυκοῦργος. Οὕτως μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐ−
νομήσαν. τῷ δὲ Δυκοῦργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἰδον εἰσάμενοι,
σέβονται μεγάλως. οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πληθεὶ
οὐκ ὀλγον ἄνδρῶν, ἀνὰ το ὑδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθυνήθησαν,
καὶ δὴς φιλεῖται ἀπέχρα ήσουξίναν ἄγεων, ἀλλὰ καταφρονή−
σαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσους εὐδεῖα, ἐχηροτηρίζοντο ἐν Δελ−
φώισῃ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ή δὲ Πυθίη σφι χραῖ τάδε'*

Ἀρκαδιὸν μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς. οὗ τούς δώσω. 3

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἦσαν,
οἱ σ' ἀποκωλύομον, ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὗ τι μεγαῖρω
δώσω τοι Τεγέεννο τοσσίκροτον ὀρχησάθωσι,
καὶ καλὸν πεῖδον σχοῖνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

ὁγαγέομαι] Used, as if λέγομαι
had preceded instead of ὁ λέγ. Cf.
II. 125. 5. ταῦτα refers to κόσμων.
§ 7. ἐνωμοτίας] See Thuc. v. 68.
Dict. Ant. Exercitus.


ἐφόρους] One of the very rare
exceptions to the non-aspiration of
compounded prepositions in Ionic.
Cf. ἀφέξε, 60. 3. In illustration
of this passage, read Grote, H. G.
Part II. ch. 6; Curtius, Bk. ii. ch. 1.

CH. 68. § 1. οἷα δὲ κ.τ.λ. i. e.
οἷα εἰ χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ τε (οὐδῇ) καὶ ἄν−
δρῶν πληθεὶς οὐκ ὀλγων. Cf. μεγάληι
μεγιλούν, 51. 1. Bähr unnecessarily
supplies εὖ with πληθεΐ.

ἄνα τε [ἐπ.] Hom. II. XVIII. 56,
6 β' ἀνέβαμεν ἐρείπι ἱερον (of Achilles).
In Hdt. the attachment of preposition
to verb is less close than in later
writers, the prep. still partially
retaining its original adverbial force
(II. 60. 2, n.). Cf. αὐ' ὑπὸ ἐκτρεμον,
194. 6; κατὰ μὲ ἐφάρμαζαι, II. 181.
4; μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, VII. 12. 2.
See also II. 141. 5.

§ 2. ἠττ] 'Touching the conquest
of:' lit. 'with a view to,' the object
of the intention (here a hostile one)
being regarded as the foundation of
the action. So συνομοσώμων ἐπὶ σοῦ,
vii. 235. 6; θέσαμι ἐπὶ τῇ Πέργῃ,
IX. 10. 4.

§ 3. [βαλανηφάγοι] An allusion
to the supposed antiquity of the Arc−
cadian race (ἀντίχθους, VIII. 73. 1).
Cf. προδείκην. Ov. Fast. i. 469.
'Orta prior Luna (de se si creditur
ipso) Α magno tellus Arcade nomen
habet.'

ordezetai] Acc. to Stein, 'Te−
gea which lay in a plain shut in all
round by hills (67. 4) is on that ac−
count compared to an ὀρχηστρα, just
as Epaminondas called the Boeotian
plain ὀρχηστρα πολέμων (Plut. Mor.
193).' Müller's explanation is still
more elaborate (Dor. 1. 7. 12): —
'the ambiguity in ὀρχηστρας is that
it may be derived from ὀρχος,' the
word thus referring to the cultivation
of the vineyards by the Lac.
captives (§ 5). More probably, as
in τοσσίκροτον there is an allusion
to the clanking of the fetters, so ὀρχη−
simply refers to the ungainly move−
ments of the fettered captives.
Ταύτα ὡς ἀπενειχέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Δακεδαλίμοι, Ἀρκάδων 4 μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγείας ἀπετραπέντε, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσων, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τῶν Τεγείτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, 5 ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωρρίθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ σχοινών διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγείτεων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ, ἐν τῷ σεῖ ἐδεδείτο, ἔτι καὶ 6 ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέη, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλένης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγείτας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλεύσαν ἐν Δακεδαλίμοι ἦδη οἱ Σπαρτιάται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνοντο, τρόπῳ τούδε γενόμενοι. ἔπειδη αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸ σοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγείτεων, πέμψατες θεσπρότους ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρότευον, τίνα ἀν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγείτεων γενοίτο. ἦ δὲ Πυθήν σφὶ ἔχρησε, τὰ 3 Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστε ἑπαγαγόμενος, ὡς δὲ ἀνευρέων ὥς οἰοὶ τε ἐγνώκατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἐπεμπον αὐτὸς τὴν ἐς θεῶν ἐπειρησμόμενον τὸν χεῖρον ἐν τῷ κέιοτο ὁ Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταύτα τούτα θεσπρότους λέγει ἢ 4 Πυθήν τάδε: "

§ 4. οἱ δὲ. See 107. 4, n. ὅν}}] Ironical: = 'they were quite sure of that.' Cf. 63. 2; II. 93. 7.

§ 5. [ἐφόπτοντα] 'Which they were all the while bringing for themselves' (81. 2).

σχοινῷ] i.e. the rope fastening the gang together, which lay stretched along the ground like a measuring-tape in the intervals between man and man.

§ 6. σῶτα [ἐν Τ.] Tegea still retained its independence (ix. 37. 6) notwithstanding its defeats (68. 7).

'Ἀλένης] It is uncertain whether this title is connected with ἀλένη, 'escape,' or ἀλένη, 'warmth.'

Cn. 67. § 1. τὴν 'Ἀναξ[.] The exact dates of the accession and death of both Anaxandrides and Ariston are unknown. This passage proves that they were both reigning in B.C. 560, and apparently neither could have been long king. Clinton, F. H. II. 207.

§ 3. Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀχ.] Stein thinks that there is a confusion here between the son of Agamemnon and an old Arcadian hero Ὀρέστης, from whom was named the district of Orestasium, W. of Tegea (ἐν Ὀρεστείᾳ. Ι. 11. 4; ἐς Ὀρέστεων, Thuc. v. 64. 3). More probably however the removal of the relics really implied the recognition of the Herculidae as the successors of Agamemnon. See Curtius i. 229.

τὴν ἐς θεῶν] Supply πομηθὴν or ὄδον (109. 1, note). If the former, ἐπειρησμένον, is an instance of constructio ad sensum: cf. 16. 31 151. 2; II. 90. 1.
"Εστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγές λευρὸ ἐν χύρῳ. ἔθη τούτῳ πνεύσου ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται. ἔθη Αγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζουσα αἰα. τῶν οὐ κομοσάμενοι, Τεγές ἐπιτάρροδος ἔσησ.

'Ως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν οἱ Δακεδαμονίοι, ἀπείχον τῆς 5 ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὐ δὴ Λίξης, τῶν ἀγαθοργῶν καλεμένων Σπαρτιτέων, ἄνευρε. οἱ δὲ 6 ἀγαθοργοί εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἔξοντες ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων αἰεὶ οἱ προσβύτατοι, πέντε έτεος ἐκάστου τούς δεὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἄν ἔξωσι ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, Σπαρτιτέων τῷ κοινῷ 68 διαπεμπτομένους μὴ ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰς ἀλλής. Τούτων ὧν τῶν 1 ἀνδρῶν Λίξης ἄνευρε ἐν Τεγές, καὶ συντυχίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίᾳ, ἐνοὺς γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμεῖξης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκῆιον, ἐθηνεῖτο σίδηρου ἐξελαυ-

§ 4. "Εστι...ἐθ' Ἀγ.] See 175. 1, n.

τις] Ironical: 'a certain Tegea:' =you seem not to know of it. λευρὸ ἐν χύρῳ and κατέχει φυσίζουσα αἰα are Homeric (Od. vii. 113; Π. iii. 243).

τόπος ἀντίτυπος] Virtually = τό- πος τε καὶ ἀντίτυπος (68. 4), 'stroke and stroke in return.' The ἀντίτυ-

πος is the blow struck by the anvil (simultaneously with the hammer-stroke) on the piece of iron being wrought.

ἐπιτάρροδος] Bähr translates 'conqueror.' But in Homer the word always means 'helper,' and accordingly Stein explains it to mean 'patron' here:—'by the removal of the protecting hero the patronage of the country would pass to Sparta.' But this (though apparently sanc-

tioned by Curtius) seems rather forced. Probably the true explana-

tion is to be found in the fact that Homer always uses the dat. (not the gen.) of the person helped, the gen. denoting the thing in which the help is given, e.g. (theol.) δοὺς Δαναοίς μάχης ἐπιτάρροδοι ἔσαι, II. xii. 180. So here ἐπιτάρροδος ἔσησ τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις (οὗ de-

noting the chief of the θέστροφοι) Τεγές, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας μάχης, 'in the matter of Tegea.'

§ 5. καὶ ταῦτα] Even after this they were no nearer.

ἐς οὗ] Used (as well as ες δ') se-

veral times by Hdt., and to be ex-

plained either simply on the ground that the ear was accustomed to the use of the genitive in this signification, e.g. εὼς οὗ, ἅχρις οὗ (cf. 35. 5, n.), or possibly as an instance of attraction from μεξρ τοῦτον, ἐς δ. Cf. ες οὗ ἄποθανοι...μεξρ τοῦτον, Π. iii. 31. 3. Bredow thinks that ἐς δ' should be always read.

Σπαρτιτέων] Used in its strict sense := ἀστῶν below.

§ 6. ἔξοντες...οἱ πρ.] 'The oldest of them, that is, as they pass out of the order of the knights, five each year.' Stein thinks that ἀστῶν is superfuous, and needlessly con-

jectures τῶν ἔξωτων. For ες, see note on ες, 42. 1.

Σμ. 68. § 1. ἐπιμείξης] i.e. there was a truce.

χαλκῆιον...χαλκᾶ] ‘Prior aeres
νόμενον καὶ ἐν θάνατι ἦν, ὅρεων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ἡμιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμαμάξοντα εἰπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου· 'Ἡ κοῦ ἀν, ὃ ξείω Λάκων, εἰ περ εἰδές τὸ περ ἐγὼ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὃς φῦν ὀποὶ τυχάνεις, κατὰ τὴν ἔργασιν τοῦ σιδηροῦ. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇ δέλων τῇ αὐλῇ 3 φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὑπὸ ποτηρίδια ἐπέτυχον σοφὸς ἐποδαπὴχει ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας, μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μὴδαμὰ μέξονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν, ἀνόητα αὐτὴν, καὶ ἔδω τὸν νεκρὸν μηκεῖ ισον ἐς τῇ τῷ σοφῷ. μετρῆσας δὲ συνέκεισα ὁπίσω. Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ 4 ἔλεγε τὰ περ ὁπίσω· δὲ, ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβαλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστην κατὰ τὸ θεσπρώτιν τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇ δὲ συμβαλλόμενος τοῦ χαλκεῶς δύο ὅρεων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὐρύσκε ἐόυta, τῶν δὲ ἁκόμοι καὶ τὴν σφύραν τῶν τε τόπων καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τῶν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σιδηρὸν τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματε κείμενον, κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ εἰκόαξων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σιδηροῦ ἀνεύρηται. Συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα 5 καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Ἡπάρτην ἐφραξε Γακεδαμικίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ, ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενεκαίτες οἱ αἰτήν, ἔδιῳξαν. δὲ, ἀπεκομενε ἐς Τεγέαν, καὶ φράξων τὴν ἑώρα 6 τοῦ συμφορῆν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἔκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγυωσε, ἐνοικίασθη. ἀνορύξας

erat quam ferri cognitus usus,' and the old names were long retained and applied to the working of the more recent metal. σιδηρέως is used by Xenophon and σιδηρόμενος of Aristotles.

ἐν θάνατι ἦν] This is curious; because working in iron, though not very common, was known in Homer's time. See Od. ix. 391-3, where χαλκεύς and σιδηρόν are combined as here. Possibly ἐξελαυνόμενον denotes some peculiar process.

§ 2. μαθὼν] See 80. 7. n. ὅμοιον Quandquidem. II. 125. 6. θώμα] This may be taken as predicate, or we may say that ὁ ποιεόμενος has the construction of θωμάζων (160. 6, n.).

§ 3. ἐποδαπήχει] Orestes would thus have been smaller than Perseus (II. 91. 4), and than Otus and Ephialtes (Hom. Od. xi. 308). Compare the Homeric phrase ὡς νῦν βροτοὶ εἶνοι.

μὴ μὲν] II. 118. 3. n.

§ 4. τὸν Ὀρέστην] 'The (long-sought) Orestes.' So τοὺς ἀνέμους below,—those mentioned by the oracle. The article thus stands with the predicate, with which too the copula is constructed (ἐόντας for ἐόντας).

κακῷ] 'To work ill for man.'

§ 5. ἐκ λόγου πλ.] 'On a feigned plea.' Both the trial and the banishment were a story made up for him to tell in Tegea.

§ 6. ἐμισθοὺς Strictly the tempus imperfectum: 'tried to hire,' So ἐκλογοῦ, 69. 4; ἐμύϑο, 205. 1. παρ' οὐκ ἀλλ.] i.e. παρὰ τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖδον. Cf. 26. 1,
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

69 Ταύτα δὲ ὅπν πάντα πυνθανόμενοι ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπεμπεὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δώρα τε φέροντας, καὶ δεσπομένους συμμαχίας, ἐντειλάμενος τα τὰ λέγειν χρήν, οἱ δὲ ἔλθόντες ἔλεγον "Επεμψὲ ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ οὐδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε Ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἑλληνα φίλον προσβῆσαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθα-

νομαὶ προετάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὅπν κατὰ τὸ χρηστή-

ριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλων καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταύτα δὲ Αγγέλους ἐπεκπρωκύετο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, άκηκόοτες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεσπρότιον τοῦ Κροῖσος γενόμενον, ἡσθήσαν τε τῇ ἀφίξει τῶν οὐδῶν, καὶ ἐπονήσαντο ὄρκια ξείνης πέρι καὶ ξυμμαχίας καὶ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖαι εἶχον εἰς Κροῖ-

σου πρότερον ἐτί γεγονότω. τέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαι-

μόνιοι ὡς Σάρδις χρυσῶν ὠνύντο, ἐς ἀγαλμα βουλήμενοι χρῆσασθαι τοῦτο, τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρακι ἱδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος Κροῖσος δὲ σφί ὀνεομένουι ἐδωκε δωτῖνην.

§ 7. δκώς] As ὃς = ὁς, so δκωs in Hdt. often = δστε. τερφάτο] 'Proved one another' (in battle). Hom. II. xxi. 580, οὐκ ἐθέλειν φεῦγεν, πρὸν τερφάτιν Ἀχι-

λής. The MSS. have ἐπετρώσατο, which some edd. alter into ἐπι-

τερφάτο (nowhere else used). Others take it as an irregular imperf. form. τῆς πολλῆς] Cf. 24. 1. Krüg. says that the statement is an exaggeration, and that τὴν should probably be omitted. But look at the map.

Ch. 69. § 3. [ἐντελάμανος τε] Coupled to δεσπομένους. So πλή-

σαται...καὶ...χωρέωται, 70. 2.

§ 2. τῶν Ἑλληνα] Here of the nation, and therefore not parallel to τῶν Κόλχων (2. 4. n.). Cf. τῶν Ἀθη-

ναων, Thuc. vi. 78. 2.

§ 3. καὶ γὰρ] This gives one reason for ἐπονήσατο κ.τ.λ. The Lacedaemonians were ordinarily καινοῦσι ἀφρόσμυκτοι (65. 3; Thuc. ii. 37. 3).

ἐυργ. εἶχον] 'Croesus even before had done them certain kind offices, for which they were be-

holden to him.'

§ 4. Ἀπόλλωνος] Join 'Ἀτ. with ἀγαλμα. Apollo was preeminently the Dorian deity. The scarcity of gold in early times in Greece is

[Δν] Inserted owing to the parenthesis: cf. 144. 1.

[Δνυ τε δ. κ. ά.] Prob.-a regular formula in treaties: nullo dolo maleo (vIII. 140. 6). Cf. στονός ἀδόλου καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς, Thuc. vi. 47. 1.

§ 3. καὶ γάρ] This gives one reason for ἐπονήσατο κ.τ.λ. The Lacedaemonians were ordinarily καινοῦσι ἀφρόσμυκτοι (65. 3; Thuc. ii. 37. 3).

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holden to him.'

§ 4. Ἀπόλλωνος] Join 'Ἀτ. with ἀγαλμα. Apollo was preeminently the Dorian deity. The scarcity of gold in early times in Greece is
70 Τούτων τε ὃν εἶνεκεν οἱ Δακεδαμίωνι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέ- καντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέτο φίλους. καὶ τούτο μὲν αὐτόλ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγελματίς, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαμεν κρήτηρα χάλκεων, ᾠδίων τε ἐξωθεὶ πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χείλος, καὶ μεγάθει τρικοσάους ἀμφο- ρέας χωρέοντα ἴγων, δῷρων δουλέμενοι αὐτίδουναι Κροίσω. οὕτοι ο δραγήρικε ἄπικετο ἐς Σάρδις δι’ αἰτίας διψασίας 3 λεγομένας τάσδε οἱ μὲν Δακεδαμίωνι λέγουσιν, ὡς ἔτει τε ἀγώμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ο δραγήρις ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοιάτο αὐτῶν, ἦνοι μακρῆσι ἐπιπλώ- σαντες. αὐτόλ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἔτει τε ὡστερήςαν οἱ 4 ἄγοντες τῶν Δακεδαμίων τὸν κρήτηρα, ἐπυθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδωνο τὸν κρήτηρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀδῶν τε καὶ τρικοσάους ἀναθεῖσιν μν ἐς τὸ 'Ἡραίων τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγουν, ἀπεκάμονος ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἀπαρθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν ἰν τὸν κρήτηρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

71 Κροίσος δὲ ἄμαρτόν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποίετο στρατηγὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, ἐπίτασις καταργῆσει Κύρων τε καὶ τῆν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζόμενον δὲ Κροίσον στρατεύ- εσθαὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν, νομίζόμενος καὶ πρὸσθεν

Illustrated by Soph. Ant. 1037, ἐμ- πολάτη τῶν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἢλε- κτρὸν, εἶ βουλήθε, καὶ τῶν Ἰδικῶν χρυσὸν. The possession of gold and silver money at Sparta was forbid- den by law.

ἐνώμανοι] Empurientibus.
CH. 70. § 2. τούτῳ μὲν] Cf. 30. 8. αὐτόλ] 'They themselves,' in oppo- sition to their present.
οὐδεν] This, like ὥδε, 203. 3; II. 4. 5 (cf. ὅδε γεγαφάμενος, IV. 88. 2), denotes figures of any kind (Schw.). The diminutive, because the figures were not full size.
διψασ] This in meaning goes closely with λεγομένας. There were not two causes, but two stories of the cause. Cf. αἰτία δις- φασία λέγοντα τοῦ βασάνου, III. 122. 1.
κατὰ τὴν Σ.] 'Off (cf. 76. 1) the land of Samos,' Σαμῖν denoting not the island but the territory belong- ing to the city of Samos. This oc- currence was afterwards made a pretext for the Spartan expedition against Samos, III. 47. 2.
CH. 71. § 1. τοῦ χρησμοῦ] The one given at 53. 3.
§ 2. τῶν τις Δ.] A common collocation in Hdt. (I. 4, n.). So in plur. τῶν τινίς Φωκίων, VIII. 90. 1. In Attic this only occurs where the article has an epithet joined to it, e.g. τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς Ἑλλήνων.
καὶ τὸ κάρτα] See 117. 1, n. The phrase goes with ἔχων, not with ὄνομα.

οὖνομα ... οὖνομα] In different senses (II. 53. 4, n.).

§ 3. σκυτίνας κ.τ.λ.] They afterwards adopted the Median dress (135, 1).

οὐκ ὅνωρ] Contrast 133. 4.

οὐ σύκα δι] ‘No figs have they.’ Stein adds in explanation ‘the simplest and cheapest dessert.’ More prob. however figs are mentioned καὶ ἐχοῦν. ‘The fig is the only fruit to which Homer allows sweetness.’ Notice the epithets given to the different trees in the garden of Alcinous, Od. VII. 115 foll.

πρόγειν] II. 37. 9, n.

§ 4. τοῦτο γε μὴν = εἰ γε σφὶ μή, ‘a relative clause in which the causal signification grazes on the hypothetical’ Ab.

μᾶθαι] Not ‘learn from me,’ but ‘look round and see for yourself.’ Cf. 86. 7, n. There is therefore no need to assume (as Stein does) a lacuna after ἀποβάλλεις.

§ 5. ἔγι χεῖ] The respect of the speaker leads him to suppress the σὺ δὲ, which would naturally follow (St.).

οὐκ ἔστιν[ The introduction of Sandanis heightens the moral. He plays the same part that Artabanus plays in the story of Xerxes (vii. 10). The doomed must always be warned and the warning must always be in vain.

Πέροσιον γὰρ] γὰρ refers to the whole story: = (I tell the tale) for. The strong contrast between Persians past and Persians present is of course in Hdt.’s thoughts.

CH. 72. § 1. ὑπὸ Ελλ.] The Persian name being Cappadocians (vii. 72. 3). ‘In the Persian inscriptions the name is Katapatuka.’ St. The Cappadocians are mentioned here because of et Καππ., 71. 1.

Σύριοι] This is the reading of all the MSS. (Bähr), though at 6. 1 we have the form Σῷροι used of the same nation. Stein thinks that Hdt. used Σῷροι to denote the inhabitants of Palestine (e.g. ii. 12, 2; 30. 4), and Σύριοι of the Cappadocians. But to carry out this rule, he has constantly to alter the readings of the MSS.
§ 2. ὁ γὰρ οὗτος They were subject to the Medes (for they lived to the east of the Halys), for the Hdt. was the boundary: ὁ οὗτος, 'the (recognized) boundary,' Kr. 

διὰ Κιλ...Καππ.] The later provinces of Cilicia and Cappadocia both lay farther south than this. But in early times these mountain-tribes would have had no definite frontier-lines: cf. ii. 104. 6.

Ματηνοῦδα] 189. 1, n. 

ἀνω] Here, and at 142. 2, this is usually explained to mean 'northwards.' But (1) how could this meaning have arisen in Hdt.'s time? The notion that the north is higher than the south ('hic verticis nobis semper sublimis,' Virg. Georg. i. 242) does not appear in his writings:—he says that nothing is known about the earth's northern limits (iv. 45. 1; v. 9. 1). Nor do we even know that the early Greek maps resembled our modern ones in having the north at the top. (2) As applied to the points of the compass, ἄνω and similar words cannot have a consistent meaning assigned to them. Thus where Priam's kingdom is described as ὅσον Δασόβος ἄνω...ἐντὸς ἔργου | καὶ Φῡη̄ν καθιστά (Hom. Π. xxiv. 544) ἄνω must mean 'southwards' and καθιστά 'northwards;' and καθιστά Χίου (Od. iiii. 170) must mean 'to the west of Chios,' lit. 'further out to sea': cf. ἀνωτέρω (Σάμου) τὸ πρὸς ἐστέρης, Hdt. viii. 130. 4. In the present passage, either ἄνω has its usual meaning of 'inland,' i.e. away from the Mediterranean (Hdt.'s sea, τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ), though properly the course of any river must be κάτω, whether it flow towards or away from the M.; or else it simply = 'on beyond,' (παρα-καθιστά πορύτων), like οὐστέρω, 190. 4. Probably the former explanation is the true one. For other instances of Hdt.'s use of relative terms from a Mediterranean point of view see notes i. 6. 1; ii. 8. 1; 24. 2; 33. 5.

ἐνθεν μὲν] 'On this side,' i.e. on the right.

§ 3. τῆς Ἀ. τὸ κάτω = τὸ ἐντὸς Ἀλυσοῦ (6. 1).

ἄγχην οὕτω] οὕτω is put for ταῦτα owing to the attraction of ἄγχην. 'These parts (through which the H. flows) are a neck of the whole of this country (viz. both upper and lower Asia).' Thus the western part of Asia Minor is the head, Asia proper is the body, and the eastern part of Asia Minor, where it is narrowest, forms the neck.

πέντε] Hdt. considerably underestimates, the real distance being about 270 miles. A day's journey is reckoned at 200 stades, = 13 miles (iv. 101. 3), and assuming 30 miles a day for the ἐβίων ἑώρ (Rennell) the journey would take nine days.
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

Κεφ. 73. 4] Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροίος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν τῶν ἐνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἰμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐνυτοῦ μοίραν βούλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστῷ πίσιν ἐων, καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κύρου. Ἀστυάγεος ἄγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυκάρεω ἐόντα Κροίοσ μὲν γαμφρὸν, Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κύρος δὲ Καμβύσεως καταστρεφάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμφρὸν Κροίοσ ὡδὲ. Σκυθεῖον τῶν νομάδων εἶλη ἀνδρῶν σταυρίσασα, ὑπέξηλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν. ἔτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνου τούτου Μήδων Κυκάρης ὁ Φραόρτεως τοῦ Δηόκεως, ὡς τούς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περείπετε εὖ, ὡς ἐόντος ἰκέτας, ὡστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιομένον αὐτῶς, παιδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γῆσαν τοῖς ἐκμαθέεις καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτή- ὁντων τῶν Σκυθεῖων ἐπὶ ἀγρίαν, καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κατε ἱκίνησι κελεύοντας μηδέν νοστηρίσας δὲ αὐτῶς κενήσφι χερσί, ὁ Κυκάρης (ἡ γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος)

Cf. 104. i. n. Dahmann on this passage refers to vi. 106. i (cf. vi. 120. i), where Phidippides is said to have gone from Athens to Sparta (117 miles) within two days. But the present tense (ἀναισθοῦνται) implies that the estimate here is a general one, and not a reference to 'an experiment which was made once or twice' (Dahlm. Life of Hdt. E. T. p. 73).

Cf. IV. § 2. καταστρ. ἀνερ] This implies that A. was still alive (27. 4, n.). He seems to have lived for some time in captivity (130. 3).


ἀνδρῶν] Bähr and others take this in apposition with Σκυθεῖων τῶν νομ., like ἀνήρ αὐλητής, ἄνδρες Ἀστυ- 

ῥάσιοι. But the order of the words is against this. Prob. owing to the frequency with which ἀνδρῶν is added after nouns of multitude (στρα- 

τῶν ἄνδρ., 53. 1; πόλεων ἄνδρ., VIII. 8. 13) ἐλη ἀνδρ. here is regarded as a single noun and takes the partitive genitive.

§ 3. ἐπιράϊν] 6. 1, n.

Κυκάρης ὁ Φρ. See chs. 96—106.

περὶ πολλοῦ] Stronger than πολ- 

λοι: lit. = 'above much,' περὶ being equivalent to πρᾶς, as in the Homeric περὶ τῶν ἐμεναι ἀλλον. So περὶ ὀδόνων in the orators, 'at less than nothing.'

τόξων] Cf. IV. 132. 3.

§ 4. καὶ κοτε] 'Once also,' i.e. besides the many occasions on which they had brought back something.

κενήσφι] Att. κεναίς.

διέδεξε] Probably impersonal (II. 134. 4). Cf. παρέδωκεν. 9. 5.

ὀργὴν ἄκρος] Cf. ὀργὴν χαλεψ, III. 131. 1. Aristotle describes the ἀκρόχολο ('the touchy') as ὑπερβολὴ ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀργίλοι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντως (Eth. iv. 5. 9). The majority of MSS. however read ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, which might fairly mean 'not eminent in point of temper:' cf. ψυχήν οὐκ ἄκρος, v. 124. 1; Ἐυρώπη οἱ τροχῆν ἄκρη, VII. 5. 5. And it is doubtful whether the omission of the negative can be justified by the analogy of ἀκρόχολος, which is usually written ἀκράχολος, and is perhaps a shortened form of ἀκρατόχολος. On the whole therefore it seems rather more prob. that the copyists have omitted οὐκ, than that they have inserted it.
τρηχέως κάρτα περιέστε ἄεικελη. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξά-5
ρεω παθόντες, ὡστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πετοῦντος, ἐσβου-
λεύσαντο τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παιδῶν ἕνα κατα-
κόψαντες κενύσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ὃσπερ ἔσθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία
κενύσαντες, Κναξάρει δοῦναι φέροντες, ὡς ἀργὴν δὴθεν δῶ-
νες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλνάττεα τῶν Σαδύ-
άττεω ἢ Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κναξάρης 6
καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιμονίως τῶν κρεών τούτων ἐπάσαντο
καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλνάττεω ἴκεται ἐγένοντο.
74 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ) ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἔξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας 7
ἐξαιτέοντι Κναξάρει) τὸλεμὸς τοῦ Λυδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Μή-
δους ἐγεγονεί ἐπ᾽ ἑταὶ πέντε᾽ ἐν τοιοῦ πολλάκις μὲν οἱ
Μήδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς
Μήδους: ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτόμακητα τινὰ ἐποίησαντο. διαφέ-
ρουσι δὲ σφὶ ἐπὶ ίσῃ τῶν πόλεμον, τῷ ἐκτὸ ἐτεῖ συμβο-
λὴς γενομένης, συνήνεικε ὡστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεῶσθαι τὴν
ὁμέρην ἐξαπίνης νῦκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλὴγν ταὐ-
τα 3 τὴν τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῦτο Ἰωβ προηγόρευσε
ἐσεσθάι, οὐρὸν προβῆμον ἐναυτὸν τούτον, ἐν δὲ καὶ
ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μήδοι ἐπεί τε 4

CH. 74. § 1. πόλεμος] ‘The pas-
sage of such nomadic hordes from one
government in the East to another
is even down to the present day a
frequent cause of dispute between
the different governments.’ Grote.

ἐν δὲ καὶ] We should rather have
expected πρὸς δὲ or μετὰ δὲ, since
the reference seems to be to the
battle described below, which took
place in the sixth year.

νυκτόμακητα τινὰ] ‘A sort of night-
battle,’ i.e. not a real one, τινὰ im-
plying that the expression is merely
metaphorical. Cf. ἐξαπίνην τί με-
ταλλὴγν, VIII. 140. 10.

§ 2. διαφέροντι δὲ] δὲ for γὰρ,
Hdt. often preferring to connect two
sentences coordinately, instead of
introducing one as the reason for the
other. Cf. 61. 7; 173. 3; 175. 13;
II. 93. 8.

ἡμέρας] μεθυγεία may be supplied,
but see 108, 6, n.

§ 3. Θαλῆς κ.τ.λ.] ‘Not unli-
keiy. Thales had been in Egypt, to
which country the Greeks owed their
astronomical knowledge.’ Ab. But
see Grote H. G. II. 417 (III. 314).

οὐρὸν προβ.] ‘Having laid down
the year as a limit;’ i.e. he did not
definitely name any day or month.

ἐναυτὸν τούτον] ‘I have exa-
mined every .total eclipse in Olt-
manns’ tables, extending from B.C.
631 to B.C. 585, and I find only one
(that of B.C. 585, May 28) which
can have passed near to Asia Minor.
That of B.C. 610, Sept. 30, which
was adopted by Bailey and Olt-
manns is now thrown north even of
the sea of Azov.’ Prof. Airy, quoted
by Grote. Hdt.’s account implies a
total eclipse.
κλείον

εἰδον νῦτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γυνομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔπευγαν καὶ ἄμφοτεροι εἰρήνην ἐσωτερικὸς γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Συνέντεις τε ὁ Κιλικαῖ καὶ Δαβύνητος ὁ Βασιλιάς ὁ ὅποιοι σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαν ἦσαν, καὶ γάμουν ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν Ἀλανττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν δυνατήρα Ἀρτηνοὶ Ἀστυναίη τῷ Κναξάρῳ παιδί. ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυρὰ ὁὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμεῖναι. Ὁρκια δὲ ποιεῖται ἑαυτὰ τὰ ἐδεικνυ τὰ περὶ τε 6• Ἑλληνες• καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεάν τοὺς βραχλόνας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὄμορφην, τὸ αἷμα Ἀναλείχοις ἀλλήλων.

75 Ὁ τούτον δὲ ὅτι τῶν Ἀστυναίη Κύρος, ἐόντα ἐωτοῦ μητροπάτορα, καταστρεφάμενος ἐσχε δὴ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐν γενο ἐν τοις ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέων. τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύριῳ, ἔστε τὰ χρηστήρια ἐπεμπτε, εἰ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμὸν κιβδῆλου, ἐπισίασ

§ 4. καὶ ἀμφότεροι] 117. i. n.
§ 5. Συνέντεις] Prob. a title, not a proper name: since we find another S. of C. contemporary with Darius (v. 118. 3), a third with Xerxes (vii. 98), and a fourth with Artaxerxes (Xen. An. i. 2. 12).

Δαβύνητος] See 188. i. n.


ἰσχυρὰ] With συμμένειν.

§ 6. τὰ περὶ τε] Stein thinks that καὶ (= καθ’ δὲ) should be read for τὸ. But ὁρκεῖ = manner of taking oaths (cf. μάχη, 79. 4; ἄγων ii. 70. 1), and so denotes the ceremonies observed. τὸ is answered by καὶ πρὸς τ. τὸν ῥύουν.] See 17. 4. n.

περὶ ὀμορφά.] 'The surface-skin.' ἡμο—'that which holds together all the bones and muscles.' St.

τὸ αἷμα...ἀλλήλων] The order of the words is opposed to the rule laid down by Krüger that the possessive genitive of reflexive or reciprocal pronouns is always preceded by the article. See notes 165. 1; ii. 107. 1. Tacitus describes a similar custom: 'levi iuctu cruorem eliciunt, atque invicem lambunt.' Ann. xii. 47. 3.

CH. 75. § 1. καταστρ. ἔσχε] 'Had held in subjection,—with reference to καταστρ. εἶχε, 73. 2. Except in the sense of the pluperfect, the aorist could hardly stand in an idiom which denotes continued action (27. 4).

ὁπίσω λόγον. 'In the stories to follow,' chs. 107, foll. This Homeric use of ὁπίσω to denote the unseen future views each moment of time as something which overtake us from behind and passes in front. The λόγοι are not the different 'books,' but the separate stories and episodes out of which the work seems to have been built. So we have Ἀστυναίης λόγοι mentioned (184. 1, n.) and Λυβικὸς λόγος (ii. 161. 3). The present passage would form part of a Ἀδόνις λόγος. Twice however Hdt. refers to passages in Bk. 1. under the title of ὁ πρῶτος (ὁ πρῶτοι) τῶν λόγων,—at v. 36. 5 to i. 92. 2, and at vii. 93 to i. 171. 2.
πρὸς ἐωτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοίραν. 'Ως δὲ ἀπίκειτο ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλιν ποταμῶν ὁ Κροίσος, ζ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὃς μὲν ἦν λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐνσάς γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν· ὃς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἔλληνων, Ὁσῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορεύοντος γὰρ Κροίσον ὅκως οἱ 4 διαβίβασε τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταῦτας), λέγεται παρεῦντα τῶν Ὁσῆς ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἔξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἐνεστὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅς δὲ ἐξηγεὶς ἰδεόταν, οὐκ ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νάτον λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυγα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ρέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὸς παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία ἐσβάλλοι· ὡστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῳ διαβάτας ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγεισι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ρέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσ-

| § 2. πρὸς ἐωτοῦ | E sua parte. πρὸς = from the direction of (II. 2, n.), from the point of view of, and so favourable towards. Cf. πρὸς τῶν ἐχῶν τὸν πότνον, Φοίβη, τῶν νόμων τιθήν, Eur. Alc. 57. |
| § 3. τὰς ἐνσάς γ.] The plural of a single bridge (205. 3, n.). |
| § 4. ταῦτας = τὰς ἐνσάς, above. λεγεισι] Hdt.'s doubts about this story are prob. due to chronological difficulties (Ab.). 'The exact year of Thales' birth and the date of his death cannot be known.' Clinton. |
| εἰ ἀριστερήσι] This implies that the army was marching, or that the camp was facing, upstream (i.e. southwards) at the time. |
| καὶ ἐπὶ δές.] 'Partly on the right hand as well' (§ 6). |
| § 5. ὅκως αὐ...λάβοι] A common construction in Hdt., as in Homer. Cf. 91. 2; 99. 3; 152. 2. Thuc. has μὴ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστῃν, II. 93. 2. Prob. δὲ renders the object in view rather less definite than it would otherwise be, by implying the existence of some condition := 'if possible.' 'With the opt. ὃς δὲν, δῶς δὲ = quomodo or ut. συγκροτοῦται δῶς δὲν εὐδαιμονία is derived from the direct interrogative, πῶς δὲν (el διατότον εὐ) εὐδαιμονίας;' Madv. G. S. App. 302. Tr. 'that so peradventure (the river) might take the camp, there pitched, in the rear (i.e. might flow on the western side of the camp), having on this side been diverted from its ancient course into the channel.' |
| § 6. καὶ ἔγγεισι] 'καὶ leads one to expect a second καὶ before διαβάτω which is omitted.' Kr. More prob. καὶ = 'actually,' the mere purpose (ὅκως above) now having the performance superadded. |
| καὶ τὸ παράπαν] 117. 1, n. καὶ τὸ δρυῖ] καὶ belongs to the object of λέγει = 'say this also, viz. that.' διεβίβασιν] 'How did they cross (on this supposition)?' i.e. how could they have crossed? Cf. 187. 5, m. Hdt.'s objection is hardly a valid one, since they might have dammed up the new stream and again diverted the river (into its old bed). . . .
76 έμαν κός γάρ ὅπλα όπερνόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτοῖς; Κροῖς δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπικετο τῆς Καππα-
δοκίας ἐς τὴν Πτερινή καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερινὴ ἐστὶ τῆς
χώρης ταύτης τῷ ἱσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώτην πόλιν τὴν ἐν
Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἑστρατο-
δέντο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἰλὲ μὲν τῶν 2
Πτεριῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἴνδραποδίσατο, εἰλὲ δὲ τὰς περιο-
κίδας αὐτῆς τάξας. Συρίων τε, οὕτε ἑντάς αἰτίους, ἀνα-
στάτους ἐποίησε. Κύρως δὲ ἀγείρας τῶν ἐνοτού στρατῶν; 3
καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας, ἤνικοῦτο
Κροῖσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαίνειν ὀρμῆσαι τοὺς στρατοὺς, πέμ-
ψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνάς, ἐπειράτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίουσο
ὑπιστάναι. Ἰωνεῖς μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἐπειθοῦντο. Κύρως δὲ ὡς 4
ἀπικέτο, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροῖσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ
Πτερινή χώρῃ ἐπειραύντω κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης 5
δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφότερον πολλῶν,
τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσας.
καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτως ἤγοινσατο.

77 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμβέθεις κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐνοτοῦ στρα-
τεύμα (ὅτι γάρ οἱ ὁ σύμβαλων στρατὸς πολλῶν ἐλάσσων ἡ
Κύρου), τούτο μεμβέθεις, ὡς τῇ ύστεραι τούτο ἐπειράτο ἐπὶ
δὲ Κύρου, ἀπήλαυσε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόοι ἤχων, παρακα-
λέσας μὲν Ἀιγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον, (ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ
πρὸς Ἀμασων βασιλεύοντα Ἀιγύπτου συμμαχίην πρὸτερον
ἐπερ πρὸς Ἀδεδαμονίους,) μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυ-

CH. 76. § 1. κατὰ Σ. Ὁ Over against (near) Sinope, or there-
about] (μάλιστα ἐς).
ἐν] On the shore of (Π. 163. 3,
n.).
§ 2. οὐδὲν ὁ. αὖ.] This adds point to the moral. Cf. Κροῦσον ἄρ-
ξαντα ἀδικησιν, 130. 4.
§ 3. ἐξελαίνειν] Depends on ὀρ-
μῆσαι. 'Before he started to lead
forth his host.' So ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύ-
εσθαι, VII. 150. 1.
οὐκ ἐπείθοντο] Cf. 114. 4. 5.
§ 4. κατὰ τὸ ἵσχυ.] Vi et armis.
'Proved one another by force of
fighting.' κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν is op-
posed to δόλω, IV. 201. 2.
§ 5. ἀμφότεροι] Governed by
πολλῶν. So πεσόντων τῶν πάντων
πολλῶν, v. 120.
CH. 77. § 1. τοῦτο═τὸ πλῆθος,
in the accus. of
thing, as well as an accus. of
the person (above): i.e. we may have
μέμφομαι τύνα τούτο, as well as μ. τύνα κατά τούτο.

μεμβέθεις] This form is more com-
mon in Hdt. than the regular Attic
aorist, μέμψαθαι.
§ 2. 'Ἀμασων] See II. 172.
λωνίων, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχία
ἐτυμανευὲ δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Δαβίδι
τὸς·) ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Δακεδαίμονίων παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον
μὴν ἡλίας τε δὴ τούτως, καὶ τὴν ἐωςτοῦ συλλέξας στρα-
τιν, ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμώνα παρεῖ, ἀμα τῷ ἢρι στρατεύων
ἐπὶ τοῦς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα φρονέων, ὁς ἀπίκετο ἐς 3
τὸς Σάρδης, ἐπεμπεῖ κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας, προ-
ερέουσας ἐς πέμπτου μήνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδης. τὸν δὲ 4
παρεύτα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατῶν Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ
ζευκῆς, πάντα ἀπεῖς, διεικέδαιε, ὀὐδέμια ἐπίποσις μὴ κοτε
ἀρὰ ἀγωνισάμενος ὡμοῖο παραπλησίως Κύρος ἥλασῃ ἐπὶ
78 Σάρδης. Ταύτα ἐπιλεγομένω Ἀραβίω ὁ προάστειον πάν 1
ὁφίων ἐνεπληθήθη. φανέρων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἤποι μετέτεις
τὰς νομᾶς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες κατάθειον. ἱδοῦτι δὲ τοῦτο
Κροίσῳ, ὡσπέρ καὶ ἦν, ἐδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπεῖ 2
θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξεγγείτεων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομενοῖς

Δαβίδι] See 188. i, n.
ἐνένωτον] Repeats ἐν τῷ ἐχὼν, the participle having become a finite verb owing to the numerous intervening clauses.
§ 3. κατὰ τὰς σε] Not ‘in accordance with the treaties,’ but ‘round to the allies’ (συμμαχίας = συμμάχους, as at 81. 1). κατὰ, as in the phrase κατὰ τοὺς θσαναυοὺς, 30. 2.
§ 4. δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ εἶ] ‘Which army of his was a foreign one.’ The form of expression is somewhat awkward, but the writer seems to have inserted αὐτοῦ because ἦν εἰ = τὸν ἐπικόν, so that the whole sentence might have run:—τὸν παρεύτα καὶ μαχεσάμενον καὶ ἐξεικονίσαμεν αὐτοῦ στρατῶν. Stein unnecessarily refers αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόν, so that ἦν αὐτοῦ ἦν ἦν αὐτοῦ εἰ = ὁ (or ὁς) τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦν ἐπικόν, δ᾽ thus by attraction becoming δι, just as τὸ πολὺ τῆς Πελοποννήσου becomes ἡ πολλὴ τῆς II. (68. 7). He quotes Aesch. Sept. 818, ἔοισεν δ᾽ ἦν λάβων τὸν τρόφι χθονὸς (which however is not parallel, ἦν χθονὸς not being the same thing as χθόνων, ἦν αὐτῆς); Thuc. iv. 109. i, Ἑγαρῆς τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχος, ὃ σφῶν οἱ 'Ἀθηναῖοι εἴχος, κατέσκαψαν (where either σφῶν = Ἑγαρῆς, or ἦν = 'those parts of them, I mean, which,' thus not having τεῖχος for its antecedent).
ἐξεικόνισα] ἐλπίσασα implies fear. Cf. ἐσ φῶνον κατιστάτο ἐλπίζουτε πάγχυ απολέσθαι, VIII. 12. 3.
ἀκρα] i 11. 8, n.
Cf. 78. § 1. τὰς νομᾶς] ‘The (i.e. their usual) pastures.’
ὡσπέρ καὶ ἦν] 22. 2, n.
§ 2. ἐς τῶν ἐξεγ. Τελμ.] For the article (which acc. to Stein is irre-

gular with the genitive in this idiom), cf. ἐς τοῦ 'Ἀμφίαρως, 93. 3; ἐς τοῦ Ἀράγανω, 113. 4. The collocation τῶν ἐς Τελμ. (as if ἐξεγγείτεως were an adjective) is probably to be explained by the fact that αὐτὸ ἐξεγγείτα was a well-known title, borne by the Tel-

messians, as by the Eumolpidae at Athens (see Dict. Ant.). Cf. τῶν ἀγορασμῶν Ζήλαρχον, Xen. An. v. 7. 24. The correction τῶν ἐξεγγεί-

τας is certainly needless. The Tel-

messus here meant seems to have been in Lycia (see Dict. Geogr.).
δὲ τοῖς θεοπρότοσι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσεῖν, τὸ
θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγέλεια.
πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὁ πλώς σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἥλῳ 3
ὁ Κροίσος. Τελμησσεῖς μὲν τοι τάδε ἐγνωσάν, στρατόν
ἀλλόθροσον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπι-
κόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγο-
ντες ὅπως εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππου δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα.
Τελμησσεῖς μὲν μνὸν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἣδη ἥλῳ-
κότι, οὐδὲν καὶ εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτῶν
Κροίσου.

79 Κύρος δὲ, αὐτικά ἀπελαινοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην 1
tῶν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Περίπη, μαθὼν ὦς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι
Κροίσος διασκεδαἶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος ἐκφισκε
πρήγμα οἱ εἶναι ἑλαύνειν ὡς δύνατο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς
Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀληθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν
dύναμιν. ὅς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος. 2
ἐλάσσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἀγγελος
Κροίσῳ ἐμπλύθη. ἐναυτὰ Κροίσος ἐς ἀπορίνη πολλὴν 3
ἀπυγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς
κατεδόκεε, ὃς τοῦς Λυδοὺς ἔξηγε ἐς μάχην. 4 ἦν δὲ τοῦτον 4
tὸν χρόνον ἐθνὸς οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρειότερον οὔτε
ἀλκιμότερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἦ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ὁπ’ ἵππων,
δούρατα τε ἐφόρεσέν μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι

§ 3. ἀναπλῶσα] The sea- voyage would involve a long détour, but
perhaps the land-route was already
occupied by the enemy. Larch.

§ 4. τῶν] τοῦτων τα (δ'). This
form of attraction (called Attic) is
seldom used, except where the rela-
tive should properly be in the accu-
sative, e.g. πρῶτον τῶν ἡμέρις ὕλεος,
23. 2. But the proposal to omit ἦν
is unnecessary.

αὐτῶν Κρ.] Cf. 85. 1.
Ch. 79. § 1. πρήγμα] See note
on ἐγρον, 17. 5.

§ 2. ἀναπλῶσα] This use of the
pluperfect (which perhaps is meant
to emphasize the suddenness of the
action) is common in Homer with
verbs of motion (e.g. οὐδὲν ἀπεθανεί | μύθῳ 'Αθηνάης. ἡ δ' ὁδυμακάθιος βε-
βήκητε, II. 1. 210) as well as in Hdt.

§ 3. ἤ] On the analogy of ἐνα-
τίοιο (cf. 22. 3). The phrase is a
combination of παρὰ τὴν ἑωτοῦ δόξαν
and ἐνατίοιο ὡς κ.τ.λ.

§ 4. τοῦτον] Opposed to Hdt.'s
own time. See chs. 155—6.

θυσία, II. 39. 1: μάχης εὐ ἐδοτε
πάση, Hom. II. 11. 823; ὡς τυχικά
οὐ πάσι τῶν αὐτὴν μάχην περιτίθησιν,
Aristot. Eth. X. 9. 15.

ἀν [ἰππῶν] Not in the Homeric
sense, e.g. ἐντολαμένου μέν ἀν' ἑπ-
πῶν ἀνδραὶ μάρασθαι, since that
refers exclusively to the use of
chariots.

αὐτοί] The men, as opposed to

5—2
their weapons: cf. 70. 2. A 'gloss,' which Bähr quotes, — ἵππευσαν· παθητικῶς 'Ἡρώδοτος πρὸς τὸν Νησίον — seems to refer αὐτὸν to ἵππων. But we have the deponent ἵππευμαι at 27. 4, and why not here? Elsewhere Hdt. uses the active form.

Ch. 80. § 1. πρὸ τοῦ ἄνδοτ.] There are extensive plains both above and below Sardis. But it is prob. that by πρὸ Hdt. means 'on the side towards Persia,' i.e. above. Cf. δῆσα, 191. 2, n.

dλλοι] viz. the Pactolus (which flowed through the agora, v. 101. 3) and the Cogamus.

συρρηθήσοι] 'Burst forth and join.' The word well denotes the impetuosity of a mountain stream. Notice the difference between the plural, and the singular συρρήθησεν.


§ 2. τὴν ἵππον] So τῇ καμήλῃ, 'the camel-troop,' below, § 3. See 179. 3, n. This Harpagus is the one mentioned ch. 108, foll.

§ 4. οὐ δὲ εἰ τάντας] οἱ is the dative of the pronoun.

παραίνεσι] For the omission of the augment, see 19. 1, n.

§ 5. καμήλων ἵππως]. The asyndeton emphasizes, and is therefore very frequently used by Hdt. where an explanation is being introduced after an antecedent ἂν, τῶν or τόλον. Cf. 84. 1; 93. 2; 96. 1, 2; 114. 1.

ἐσοδομίστο] We find instances of passive deponents used by Hdt. (207. 8, n.), but here a passive meaning would involve the awkwardness of making the verb impersonal.
Τόσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκηκε πολυορκήτ. Κροίσος δὲ δοκέων ἵνα τὴν πολυορκήτικην ἐπέμπη ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἄλλας ἀγγέλους ἐστὶ συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεστιμήσαντο, ἐστὶν μέμπτον μὴν προερέσαντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδης· τούτον δὲ ἐξεπεμπὲς τὴν ταχίστην δέδωκαν βοηθείαν, ὡς πολυορκεσσόν τοῦ Κροίσου. 'Εσ τὲ δὴ ὡς ἔτι ἀλλὰς ἐπέμπτε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δακεδαλόμουν τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον πιστεύτωκε ἐρις ἐνόσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ χώρου καλομένου Θυρέσης. τὰς γὰρ Θυρέσας ταύτας, ἐνοῦσας τῇ δὴ τιν. 'Wherewith he was actually setting his mind upon gaining no little glory.' With ἐπέμπτε supply τῶν νομί. For ὁ Λύδος, see 2. 4, n. καὶ adds emphasis: 'far from thinking it useless.'

§ 6. τὴν μάχην] The one implied in the previous account. Cf. τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, 166. 3.

ἀδερφάντο] Compare L. and S. Lex., ἀδερφαῖοι, with Buttmann's Lexilogus, ἀδανήων, § 5.

§ 7. ἔμαθον] Used by Hdt. of knowledge derived from the sense of sight. Cf. 10. 3; 68. 2; 191. 7, n.

§ 8. τείχος] The citadel (98. 6).

Ch. 81. § 2. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον. Sc. περιβάλλεισ.

διεστιμήσαντο] The imperfect (where we should have expected the pluperfect), is descriptive:—'were being sent,' i.e. at the time and under the circumstances described above (77. 3). Cf. ἐφέρεντο, 66. 5.


Ch. 82. § 1. τοῖς 81 καὶ αὐτῷ.] 'And to them themselves too, I mean the Spartans.' The demonstrative τοῖς simply anticipates Σπαρτιτήσας, according to the Homeric usage (e.g. αἱ δὲ ἐπεμείμησαν Ἀθηναίοι τῷ καὶ Ἡρῷ), though, unlike Homer, Hdt. repeats the article with the subst.

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον] About 547 B.C.

§ 2. Θυρέσει] Above we have the sing. form, which Thuc. always uses (II. 27. 3; IV. 56. 2; 57. 3). So we have Μαλέων below, but Μάλην at IV. 179. i (Thuc. uses the sing. form); Πλαταιαν, VIII. 50. 3, but Πλαταις, IX. 25. 3.

ἀποταμόμενον ἔχων] Not to be
τής Ἀργολίδος μοίρης, ἀποταμομένου ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἦ τε ἐν τῇ ἁπείρῳ χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρή νήσος καὶ αἱ λουταί τῶν νήσων. Βοσθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμομένην, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες, ὥστε τρικοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέσασθαι ὀκτώβοι δ' ἄν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑστύτο, μηδὲ παραμένειν ἄγων ζιμέονων, τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, ἢν μη, παρεώτων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἔρωτες οἱ ἔτεροι ἐσομενοὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμίσθοι. Συνθέμενοι ὅν ταῦτα ἀπαλάσσοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφεών καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλεξίωρ τε καὶ Χρόμιος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυνάδης. ὑπελειφθησαν δὲ σοφοὶ νυκτὸς, ἐπελθοῦσας. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν 5 Ἀργείων, ὡς νευκηκότες, ἔθεαν ἐς τὸ Ἀργος· ὃ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυνάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑστύτο στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ τάξει εἰχὲ ἑστύτον. ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρη παρῆσαν πυθανο-.
μενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔφασαν ἦκαν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐσώτεροι πλείονες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ, τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίωντες περευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα, καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκέλων λεγομένοι. τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμαχύντο πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Δακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργείων μὲν 7 νυν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου κατακειμένων τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψιν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναικὰς σφὶ χρυσοφόρησεν, πρὶν ἀν Θυρέας ἀνασώσισθαι. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἐθεγοῦν νόμον 8 οὗ γὰρ κομῶντο πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τοῦτο κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγοντο τὸν περιλειψθέντα τῶν τριπεσιῶν, Ὄθρυνάδης, αἰσχυνόμενος ἀπονοστέεις ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι 83 ἐσώτερον. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖς Ἐπαρτητησίοι ἐνεστεάτων πρηγμάτων, ἤκε ὁ Σαρδηνίῳς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίδων βοηθείας πολιορκομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύρων τοῦ κήρυκος, ὅρματο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφὶ ἤδη παρεσκευαζόμενοι, καὶ νεόν τι ἐνσέεσθαι ἐτούμων, ἠλθεὶ ἄλλη ἀγγελία, ὡς ἠλάκτω κάτω τοίς θείοις.

αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι] ‘Both sides said that they (αὐτοὶ) were conquerors.’ Thuc. uses the same words in reference to this story: διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς τούτης (Θεραπίδος), ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἤξιον περὶ (v. 41. 2). On the occasion to which Thuc. refers (B.C. 429) the Argives, before making a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, stipulated that the possession of Thyrea might still be challenged and fought for on the old terms. The Lacedaemonians thought this stipulation a piece of folly.

§ 7. κατάκεφα. Cutting the hair was a mark of mourning (ii. 36. 2; vi. 21. 2). St.

τρύγτ...κομώντες] The Homeric "Ἀχαῖοι were καρφικωμένες. Hence prob. the adoption of the Spartan custom: cf. 67. 3, n. On the enmity between Argos and Sparta, see Curtius, 1. 254.

ἐπάναγκες] An Athenian law-term. Hence here prob. there is a reference to an earlier νόμος, which made the practice compulsory.

§ 8. κομῶν] Depends on θεότητος νόμον. It was also a Spartan νόμος to comb the hair before battle. See vii. 108. 4; 209. 5.

τῶν οἰ] 1. 4. n. συλλοχιτεῶν] The loss of his comrades would be all the more grievous, because the military and the political divisions of the Spartans coincided. For the λόγος, see Dict. Ant. Exercit. μὴ] Repeats τὸν ἐνα above. See ii. 10. 3, note.

Ch. 88. § 1. ὅμως] i.e. καὶ περι τούτων ἐνεστεάτων πρηγμάτων. ὅρματο] The pluperfect (cf. ἐπέταυτο, § 2), as at 79. 2.

§ 2. παρεσκευαζόμενοι καὶ...δοῦναι] Cf. 69. 1, n.
72. ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροίσος ζωγρηθεῖς. οὖτω δὲ οὔτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέπαιντο.

84. Σάρδιες δὲ ἠλωσαν ὁδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη

ι ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολυρκεσμένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κύρος τῷ στρατη

τῇ ἐσωτερικῷ, διαπέμψας ἔπειτα, προειπε, τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιβαίντι

tοῦ τεῖχος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, πειρησμαένης τῆς

τροίδης, ὡς οὐ προεχώρησε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἀλλῶν τεπαίμε

νῶν, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπηράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ ὑσμη ἦν

Τροίδης, κατὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἀκρόπολιος τῇ οὐδεύς ἐτέτακτο

φυλάκος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλὸ κοτέ. ἀπὸ

τοῦτο τοῦτο ἄρ ἐστὶν ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὔ

δὲ Μήλης, δα πρῶτερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνη οὐ περιηγε

τῶν λέοντα, τὸν οἷς ἡ παλλακι ἔτεκε, Τελμησσῶν δικαστῶν,

διὸ περιενεχθέντος τού λέοντος τῷ τεῖχος, ἔσονται Σάρδιες

ἀνάλωτοι. δὲ Μήλης, κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενεκακα

tῇ ἦν ἐπιμαχόν τὸ χωριῶν τῆς ἀκρόπολιος, καταλόγησε τοῦτο,

οὐδὲ ἄμαχον τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Ῥώολου

tετραμμένον τῆς τόλμης. Ὁ ὅν δὲ Τροίδης οὕτως ὃ


CH. 84. § 1. ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΚΑΔΕΚΑΤΗ]

Notice the form of the ordinal, the

cardinal τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη being re-

garded by Hdt. as a single word,

and therefore indeclinable. Thus

we have τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη ἔτεκα, ἡμέ-

ρας, 86. 1, though we find ἔτεκα

τριά καὶ δέκα, 119. 2, and τέσσαρε

καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν, Thuc. ii. 21. 1.

§ 2. Μάρδος] See 125. 6.

§ 3. άτο ταύτῃ] Ἔνταδε had been

to Sardis (ἐπὶ ἐμὲ, 93. 3).

δα πρῶτερον β.] 'The former king.'

Cf. ii. 23. 2, n.

λέοντα] The lion was an em-

blem of the sun in the Lydian reli-

gion: cf. 50. 4. Bahr.

δικαστῶν] ἐκδικαστῶν and δι-

dικαστῶν have been needlessly con-

jectured.

§ 4. τὸ χωριὸν] Krüger says

that τὸ χωριὸν 'should probably be

omitted, and the genitive made to

depend on τῇ. With τὸ χωριὸν we

must have had ἡ ἀκρόπολις, like τὸ

χωριὸν αἰ Ἑρώτα ὅδε, Thuc. i. 100.

3.' We may however equally well

retain τὸ χωριὸν, and still take τῆς

ἀκρόπολις as the partitive genitive

after τῇ.

καὶ. δὲ κ. Τ. L.] Not 'it is that

part of the citadel which faces

Tmolus' (for this we should want τὸ

πρὸς τοῦ Τ. τετρ.); but 'it lies facing

towards Tmolus in the citadel.' The

genitive τῆς τόλμης may be explained
either (1) as added to express the

general locality, just as the name

of a country is put in the genitive,

with reference to some particular

point or place in it, e.g. τῆς Θεσ-

σαλίας ἐπὶ Φάροσαλον, or (2) as the

gen. of reference (192. 3, n.). Com-

pare ἤ δὲ Ἡραcli avtή Δική καλο-

μένη ἐστι μὲν, Σικελιᾶς, πρὸς δὲ

Τυρσιῆν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελιᾶς,

'facing in Sicily towards T.' vi. 22.

4. For the genitive Τμωλοῦ, see

110. 2, n.

§ 5. οὕτως] All the MSS. have

ἀπότομος, which is defended by Matthiä

as making an opposition to the
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

Μάρδος, εἴδων τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέῃ ἁνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἔφρασθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἔβαλεν. τότε δὲ δὴ ὁ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκε, καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὔτω δὴ Σάρδιες τε ἡλικειάς, καὶ πάν τὸ ἀστὸν ἐπορθέτο.

85 Κατ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Κροίσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἢν οἳ παῖς, τοῦ 1 καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δὲ. ἐν τῇ ὁν παρελθοῦσῃ εὐεστοὶ ὁ Κροίσος τὸ πάν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπεπονήκε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπετύμφει χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθή οἳ εἴπε τάδε:

Ἀνδρειγόνος, πολλῶν βασιλέων, μέγα νήπιες Κροίσια, μη βούλευς πολύευκτον ἢν ἀνὰ δώματ’ ἀκόουεν παιδός φθεγγομένου. τόδε σοι πολὺ λοιπὸν ἁμφις ἐμμεναι. αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἑμαίτ πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

'Αλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχεως, ἢν γὰρ τῶν τίς Περσέων ἄλλογνώσας Κροίσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροίσος μὲν νῦν

Lydian ('quum Lydum... vidisset, etse etiam Hyroades'), and taken by Blakesley with idōn, 'having seen with his own eyes.' But the former explanation is contradicted by the order of the words, and the latter involves omitting ὁ Μάρδος. Perhaps Hdt. originally wrote οὖσιν here and αὐτόν below (§ 6), and the two having become transposed by the copyists, οὖσιν was altered into ὁ αὐτός.

§ 6. O αὐτόν] This, if right, must mean 'the same man who had seen the descent of the Lydian.' Most modern editors omit the article. Κατ’ αὐτὸν] 'After him,'—either literally, i.e. in his track: cf. μεταδώκεις ἀποστείλας τρεῖς καὶ αὐτόν, III. 4. 5; or metaphorically, codem modo atque ille (cf. 98. 8. n.).

Ch. 86. § 1. πρότερον] See 34. 3; 38. 3, n.

§ 2. ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ...ἐπετύμφει] Cf. 8. 2; 19. 4; 129. 1; 11. 44. 1.

§ 3. μέγα νήπιοι] So Patroclus is called μέγα νήπιοι (Hom. Ι. xvi. 46) for praying to be allowed to go out to battle: η γὰρ ἐνελλεί | οἱ αὐτῷ ῥανότον τε κακὸν καὶ κήρα κι- νεοῦσα. St. Hesiod uses the same expression in his admonitions to his brother (μέγα νήπιες Πέρση, Ορ. 486). On the connection between the Delphic oracle and Hesiod's poetry, see Götting's Ηesium (p. xxix. 2nd ed.).

ἁμφις ἐμμεναι] = abesse. Acc. to Buttmann (Lexil. 18. 10), the construction is best thus: τὸδε σοι λοιπὸν (ἔστιν) ἁμφις εἶναι 'it is better for thee to be without it,' ἁμφις sc. αὐτός, like ἁμφις φυλοτιδώς, Hom. Od. xvi. 267. It seems simpler to supply σοι after ἁμφις, like Δῖος ἁμφις, Ι. viii. 444.

§ 4. μὲν νῦν] Owing to the insertion of the clause with γὰρ (8. 2, n.), the sentence is resumed with a fresh connecting particle: cf. 29. 1.
ἐρρητεία] Cf. Π. 2. 5. Speech from the hitherto dumb is regarded as the bursting forth of an arrested torrent. So ‘rumpit vocem,' Virg. Aen. ii. 129; ‘rumpere fontem,' Οv. Met. v. 257; δακρών ῥήσασα θερμα νάεατα, Soph. Ττ. 919. The legend forgets that the Persian would not have understood the Lydian language (ἔρρητεν, 86. 4).

"νυθρωτέ] Not in its later contemptuous sense (cf. 35. 3), though in the distinction drawn between ἄφρες and ἄνθρωπος, VII. 210. 4, we seem to see a trace of the mode in which the later meaning arose.

Σ. 86. § 1. Σάρδις ἐσχον] Prob. 545 B.C. Clinton.

τὸ χρηστήριον] See 53. 3.

§ 2. τυχήν] Yet at III. 16. 4. we are told Πέρσαι θεῶν νομίζοντες εἶναι τῷ, τὸ ὥν κατακαίνει τοῦ νεκροῦ οὐδαμὸς εἰς νόμον ἔστι. Here therefore Hdt.'s account must have come from a Lydian and not from a Persian source (cf. λέγεται ὑπὸ Δωῦ, 87. 1). See Grote's note, Η. Ε. III. 165 (iv. 259).

διὰ ἑπτά] So in a similar context, διὰ ἑπτά Πέρσων παῖδας VIII. 114 3. The phrase is prob. due to some supposed sanctity of the number seven (pps. because the heavenly bodies are seven in number: see 98. 8, n.). Here we should naturally have expected τεσσερεκαίδεκα, in order to give greater force to the coincidence pointed out above between the number of days of the siege and the number of years during which Croesus had reigned.

Δ. παῖδας] See 27. 3. n.

ὅτως δή] 'To some god or other.' δότις δή = nescio quis, a stronger form of τις. Cf. οἷα δή (= τοιαῦτα τωα) below § 6; δόσι δή, 160. 2. In all these instances δή (like δήποτε in later Greek: cf. 157. 3) increases the indefiniteness of the expression, because it emphatically calls attention to the ellipse. Thus δότις δή literally = just whoever (you please).
§ 3. προστήμα] Not from προστήμη (προστήν with the accus., Soph. El. 1378, has quite a different meaning), but from προστήμιο, in the sense of παραστήμα or ἐσελθέων, = ‘when this thought came upon him.’ So προσχώτασ from προσέχων 2, 2; and προστάτες, προστάς (119, 5; 129, 1) prob. belong to προστήμιο.

ἀνευεκάμενον] Buttmann’s interpretation is the right one: see L. and S. Lex.

ἐκ πολλῆς ἐγνωρίς] To be taken with what follows: ‘from having been till then perfectly quiet.’ Butt. Some MSS. have λειποφυχῖς, and this has been regarded as a marginal explanation, which has usurped the place of the true reading ἐγνωρίς. On this view ἀνευεκαμένον must in opposition to Butt. be rendered ‘having recovered’ (= ἀνευεχθέν, 116, 2), but ἐγνωρίς is clearly preferable.

§ 5. τὸν ἄν κ.τ.λ.] i. e. (ἐπικαλόμα τούτων) τὸν παῖς τ. ἐλ. ἄλθει (πρὸ) μεγάλων χρημάτων προετιμήηα αὐτὸν (ἐλ δυσάκιν ἄν).”

§ 6. ὅσι...ἄρχην] ‘How to begin with’ (5, 3, n.). Hdt. makes Solon’s visit the turning point in Croesus’ life (cf. μετὰ Σ. οἰκόμενον, 34, 1). Solon’s unheeded warning was the ἄρχη, and the funeral-pile the τέλος.

ἀποφλαυρίζει] Corresponds to ἐθαλεύτω. For other examples of the coordination of indic. and opt., see 117, 2; II. 160, 6.

οίδα δή] Not part of what Croesus actually said to Cyrus, but added by the author in order to avoid a repetition of Solon’s speech: ‘having said so and so,’ ‘with such and such words’ (whatever they were):—εἴτας agreeing with Solon.

οὐς τε...ἀποβεβήκοι] ‘And how he had found everything to come to pass.’ The reading ὅτι τε (Beker) is much simpler than ὅτε, which Bähr retains. Cf. vii. 197, ἔλεγον ὅτε...μετετείχα δὲ ὅτε...ὁτε τράπα τοῦτοι. Bähr makes ὅτε depend on οἶδα δή εἴτας, ‘quippe ita locutus, ut omnia evenerint.’ But should we have had the optative, if this had been Hdt.’s meaning? Another reading is ἀποβεβηκε ὅ, but in this prob., as Schw. says, ὅ was originally a correction written above the termination of the variant ἀποβεβηκε.

ἀυτῷ = Kρόλος, thus referring to
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ  

τῆπερ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωτὸν λέγον, ἢ ἐσ ἀπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς παρὰ σφίζει αὐτοῖς δοκεόντας ὀλίσσον εἶναι. Τῶν μὲν Κροίσον ταῦτα ἀπηγε- 

θαρμένη, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἢ ἄμμενης, καίεσθαι τὰ περιέχεται, καὶ τῶν Κύρων ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνεύων τὰ ἔλεπτος τοῦ Κροίσος, μεταγενόντα τε καὶ ἐννοώντα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐω ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων, γενόμενον ἐωτῦν εὐδαιμονή ὅν τε ἔλασσον, ἔφοντα πυρὶ διδοῖς πρὸς τοὺς δεισάντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον, ὡς οὐδὲν εἰς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπωι ἀσφαλεῖς ἔχον, κελεύει σβενύναι τὴν ταχύτητι τὸ καϊμένου πῦρ, καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροίσον τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσος καὶ τοὺς 87 πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἐτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. Ἐν- ἔν τούτω λέγεται ὑπὸ Δυδών, Κροίσον μαθώντα τὴν Κύρου 

μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβενύντα τὸ πῦρ, 

dynámēνος δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβέειν, ἐπιβιβάζοντα, τὸν Ἀπόλ-
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

λόγαν ἐπικαλεσμένον, ἐὰν τί οἱ κεχαρισμένοι εἶ ἀυτὸν ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι, καὶ ὑπασθαί μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τόν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸν θεόν εἰς δὲ αἰθρίας τε καὶ καλνεμίας συνιδραμεν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμώνα τοι καταραγήναι, καὶ ύστερον λαβρωτάτῳ, καταστεθήναι τε τῆς πυρῆς. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρου, ὡς εἰς ὃ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφίλης καὶ ἀνήρ ἁγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτόν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατευσάμενον, πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταύτα ἐπηρέα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τῇ ἔμεωντοι δὲ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, αἰτίων δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἐλλήνων θεός, ἐπαιρέσας ἐμὲ στρατευεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστι, ὃς τίς πολέμων πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες του πατέρας βάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τους παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταύτα δαιμοῦ καὶ φιλοῦ ἣν οὕτω γενέσθαι.

88. 'Ὁ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε. Κύρος δὲ αὐτῶν λύσας κάτισε τε ἐγγὺς ἑωτοῦ, καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθείᾳ εἶχε, ἀπεδωμαζὲ τε ῥέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνων ἔωντες πάντες. δὲ συνυόι ἐγκαμεν ἔσχος ἢν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ἱδομενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἁστι κεραιζουντας, εἶπεν "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, κότορον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ, τὰ νόεων τυχανώ, ἢ συγάν εν τῳ παρεόντι χρόνῳ;" Κύρος δὲ μιν θαρσοῦντα ἐκέλευεν 3

Ch. 87. § 1. ἐν τῇ εἴ] Compare the prayer of Chryses, Hom. II. i. 37, κλθεῖ μεν, ἀγνωρτόε, 'εἰτοτε τοι̊ χαρίετε̊ ἐπὶ ἕκεν ἄρεπτα κ.τ.λ.

§ 3. τῇ σῇ μὲν εἴδ.] The dative either denotes 'the accompanying circumstance' (Madv. G. S. 42), = 'with,' i.e. 'to thy happiness,' like oλον ἄνθρωποι τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν, Thuc. VIII. 27. 6, or more prob. the cause (= 'driven on by') like ἀγνωρτο ἀμαρταίοιν, φοβοῖς τὼ προτεταγμένα τοιείν. For the fatalism involved in this latter view compare the concluding sentence of the ch.

§ 4. δὶς τῆς] For διστε, like quia with the subjunctive in Latin. So

οὐτώ δὶς τὸ ἐδώσα πικρῇ ἢ κ.τ.λ., IV. 52. 3; -δς being used properly after a definite, and δις after an indefinite antecedent.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ] In Attic we find μὲν sometimes inserted as here between the preposition and the article and sometimes not. Krüg. quotes from Plato ἐν μὲν τοῖς συμφωνοὺμεν, ἐν δὲ τίς οἶδ, and ἡ φώσις εἰς τὰ μὲν ολὰ τε, τὶς δὲ τὰ οὖ.


Ch. 88. § 1. κάρτα] Join this with πολλῇ.

§ 3. εὐρώτα] Unaugmented (19. 1, n.), from the epic form εἰρωνίω. We find εἰρωνίων however, Hom. Od. iv. 251.

§ 4. μέα] = μέτεστι. So ἐν, 181. 7; 183. 1; πάρα, 42. 1; ἔπι (in an oracle), VI. 86. 14.

τὰ σά] The emphasis is marked by the position of the words.

Ch. 89. § 1. ἐπιμέλεια...τὰ] This may be compared with ταῦτα δὴ δολυπῶν ἐφάνη, Plat. Parm. 160 Α. (For converse instances of the predicate in the neuter plural, see 4. 3, note.) But very possibly the meaning is ‘curiae fuit quae Croesus diceret’ (St.), the relative being used (as at 56. 2) to introduce an indirect question.


§ 2. πλεύν) ‘More (than others).’ So προειδότος πλεύν τι καὶ τοῦτον, IX. 41. 4. From this use comes the notion of advantage in πλεύν ἔχειν, φέρεσθαι. Translate: ‘if I have the advantage in seeing aught therein’.

ὑβριστα] Perhaps here, as Bähr says, Hdt. is putting into the mouth of Croesus the Greek sentiments of his own age about Persian pride. There is however some doubt about the reading ὑπερκύμνους δαγν, which B. quotes from Aesch. Pers. 793, and ὑβριστα need not mean more than ‘unruly’ (cf. II. 32. 3).

§ 3. ξ αὐτῶν] This may refer to τούτων, but see 9. 1, note.

ἐπιθέο] = προσδοκιμα. The asyndeton, ὃ δὲ καὶ τ. λ., as at 80. 5.

προσδικεσθαι] 32. 12, note.

§ 4. λεγόντων] As if καὶ οὕτω had preceded. So we have the imperative used after ὃς, ‘since,—ὡς οὐ μὴ τέμψητε, ἐπιστασθε ἡμᾶς ἡμολογήσεως τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 172. 4; and after ὡστε,—τὰ πολλὰ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἐν οἷς διαπέβει, ὡστε θάρρεις, Plat. Prot. 3 i Α.
90 σε δίκαια, ἐκώντες ποιήσουσι." Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος ἔπειτα δεῖ, ὃς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι. αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐνεπέλαμψε τοῦτο ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελείειν, εἰπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε: "Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένον ἡ σει ἄνδρος βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἐπέα ποιεῖν, αἰτόυ ὁδόν, τὴν τινα βούλει τοις γενέσθαι παρατικά." Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "Ὤ δέσποτα, ἡσας με χαριεῖ καλίστα τοῦ θεόν τῶν Ελλήνων, τῶν ἐτίποτα ἐγὼ θεῶν καλίστα, ἐπείρεσθαι, πεµψάνα τάδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὐ ποιεύνις νόμος ἐστι οἱ." Κύρος δὲ εἶπεν ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων εἶναι τοῦτο παρατικήν. Κροῖσος δὲ ὁ εἶπεν ὅ ἐπηγορεύης πάνσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ διάνοιαν, καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσεις, καὶ καλίστα τι ἀναθήματα καὶ ὃς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντήρᾳ, ἐκτοκεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας. Λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτός παρατεῖ 5 μενος, ἐπειδὰν οἱ τῷ θεῷ τούτων ὑπειδίσασι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπεν "Καὶ τοῦτον πεθεὶ παρ' ἐμέν, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἀλλον παυτός τοῦ ἀν εκάστοτε δεῦ." Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε 6 ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπτων τῶν Λυσίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο, τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηὸ τῶν οὐδῶν, εἰρωτῶν εἰ οὐ τι

Ch. 90. § 2. σει...αἰτεῖο] Cf. 3; 178. 3.

ἄνδρος βασι.] "En homme roi," Larch. 'With right royal deeds and words art thou ready to do me service.' For the zeugma, cf. 31. 10.

§ 4. § τι οἱ τοῦτο] "What charge he brought against the god that he made this request." The form ἐπηγορεύων is doubtful. If from ἐπήγορος (ἐπηγορία is found once in Dion Cassius), the right form would be ἐπηγορεῶν. Lobeck (Phryn. 702) thinks that it is the result of an attempt to ionicise ἐπηγορεῶν, which latter he considers to be the true reading.

ἐπηγορεύης] This, the reading of all the MSS., is retained by Bähr, though with some hesitation. Its form may perhaps be justified by κατηγορεύς (84. 4), and the meaning 'repeated,' 'told over again' assigned to it (ἐπαν- as in ἐπανειρο-

menos, 91. 5). But most modern editors adopt the correction ἐπαλληλογνας (cf. 118. 1). Hdt. seems to attribute the idea of repetition to Croesus, because he has himself told the story (chs. 53 foll.).

§ 5. καταβαιν] καταβαίνω, as used by Hdt. in this metaphorical way, contains two notions (1) that of coming to the end of a speech or conversation, (2) that of recurring to the main point after a digression. See 116. 8; 118. 1; III. 75. 2; IX. 94. 2. Its meaning is therefore different from that of descendo, decurrre, which always seem to imply lowering oneself to what is disgraceful, or having recourse to what is unpleasant. Cf. 11. 65. 3, n.

τοῦτο] One MS. has τοῦτο (Kr.), but compare the construction of μέμφομαι, Aesch. Sept. 652, ὧς ὀντὸς ἄνδρι τῷ παρεχεῖμασθοῦ μεμφεῖς.

§ 6. ἐν τούτῳ νηὸ τ. οὐδ.] Sardis
ἐπανεχώνεται τοῦ τις μαντήσις ἐπαείρας Κρόισου στρατεύ- 
εσθαὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσατο τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, 
ἂν ἦς οἱ ἀκροβίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι; δεικνύται τὰς πέδας. 
ταῦτα τε ἐπειρατῶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστους νόμος εἶναι τούι 
Ἐλληνικοίσι θεοῖς. Ἀπικομένουσι δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖσι καὶ 
λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε: 
"Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίραν ἀδύνατὰ ἐστὶ ἀποφυγέως καὶ θεῷ. 
Κρόισος δὲ πέμπτων γονέων ἀμαρτᾶ ἔξεπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν ἐν 
δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δὸλῳ γυναικικῷ ἐπιστόμενος, ἐφό-
νευσε τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ἐσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν 
ὁ προσήκουσαν. προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίεων, ὄκως ἃν κατὰ 
τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Κρόισου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος, καὶ 
μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸν Κρόισου, ώς οἶδα τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοιράς. 
ἔσον δὲ ἐνδεδὼκαν αὐταί, ἡνίσατο καὶ ἐχαρίσατο οἱ. 
tréa 3 
γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὰ Σαρδίων ἔλωσιν καὶ τοῦτο 
ἐπιστάχθω Κρόισος, ὡς ὕστερον τοῖς ἔτει τούτους ἀλοίπω 
τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιμομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπήρ-

cannot have been taken before 548 
B.C. at the earliest (86, 1, n). In 
this very year the temple at Delphi 
was burnt down (11. 180. 1), and 
several must have elapsed be-
fore it was rebuilt. Acc to Stein it 
was not begun before 539 B.C.

ἡ ὤν τι] Had ἡ been used, it
would have implied that the en-
quirer was really in doubt.

ἐνα] The inf. has a double func-
tion, both with νόμος (for ἡ ἐνα, see 24. 11, n) and with 
ἀφιλοτοι.

CH. 91. § 1. τῆν πεπρωμένην] 
Aesch. Prom. 518, ὅκους ἄν ἐκφυγό
γε τῆν πεπρωμένην (Zeus). But in 
the oracle delivered to the Athe-
nians (VII. 141. 3) Zeus is repres-
ented as the supreme power: οὐ 
δόματα Παλλάς Δ' Ὀλυμπόν εὐδι-
ασαθαι, κ. τ. λ. See Grote, H. G. 
III. 168 (IV. 264).

Bellanger (quoted by Larcher) thinks 
that it was this use of τέπτως which 
misled Croesus, who would consider 
the prediction fulfilled in the un-
timely death of his son Atys.

ἐπιστόμενος] 'Led on by;' Hom. 
Od. III. 215, ἐπιστόμηος θεοῦ ἀμφὶ.

Δοξία] 'Apolloinis cognomen, 
quod ad oraculorum responsa con-
torta atque ambigua relatum volunt, 
alii ad obliquum solis cursum.' Bähr. 
The former derivation is well illus-
trated here, but more prob. the root is 
λυκ (Lat. lucere). Stein compares 
'Ερυθίςας from ἔρυκα.

ὅκως αὖ] 75, 5, n.

§ 3. αὕτω] αὐταί, 'of their own 
accord;' (Schäfer), is not so good. 
With the persuasive powers here 
attributed to Apollo, Grote compares 
μίας ἐπεισάς ὁδήγους θεῖας βρο-
τος, Aesch. Eum. 724.

τοῦτο ἐπ....ὡς....ἀλούς] A mix-
ture of the two constructions τοῦτο 
ἐπ. ὡς ἠδίκω and ἐπιστόμω ἀλούς. 
Cf. ὡς ἐότας ἐνώμε, Π. 1. 2; λέγου-
σαι ὡς ὀλολότας, Aesch. Ag. 658.

δεύτερα βι τούτων] Cf. 185. 1; 
VI. 46. 1; ἐμίδο δεύτεροι, Hom. H. II. 
XXIII. 247. So even τοῦτων τρότον 
in later Greek, 'a third point be-
yond these.' Aristot. Eth. VII. 11. 3.
κεσε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήσιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροίσος μέμφεται. προσηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Δοξὶς, ἣν στρατεύται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν καταλύσει, τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν, εὐ μέλλοντα βουλευσθαί, ἐπειρέσθαι πεμψάντα, κότερα τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἡ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχὴν. οὐ γὰρ συλλαβῶν δὲ τὸ ρήθην οὐδὲ ἐπανειρήμονος ἐωτῶν αὐτῶν ἀποφαινέτω. ὥστε καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζόμενον ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Δοξίς περὶ ἦμῶν οὔδὲ τούτο συνέλαβε. ἠ γὰρ δὴ ὁ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἦμῶν ἐκ γὰρ δυὸν οὐκ ὁμοθνῶν ἐγεγόνει, μητρὸς ἀμείνους, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεσπόρου. ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἦν 7 Μηδίς καὶ Ἀστυάγες θυγατῆρι τοῦ Μίθον υἱὸς βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἡν καὶ ἀρχεμένος ὑπὲκείλωσι καὶ ἐνερεῖ ἡμῖν τοὺς ἄπασι, δεσπότην τῇ ἐωτοῦ συνοικεῖ." Ταῦτα μὲν ἡ 8 Πυθικὸς ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖς Λυδοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀνήλικοι ἐς Σάρδην καὶ ἀνθρηγείλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνεγγυς ἐωτῷ εἶναι τὴν ὁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τῷ θεοῦ. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσῳ τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίας τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχα οὕτω.

Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἀλλα ἀναθήματα εν τῇ Ἐλλάδι πολλὰ, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἰθήνηι τῇς Ἰωνίων τρίπων χρύσεως, τὸν ἀνέμηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ

§ 5. ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ]. The form of expression (30. 2, n.) can hardly imply reserve here, where the oracle is represented as so triumphant in its vindication of itself. Perhaps the first ἐπὶ ought to be omitted (Valck.).—"the things which L. spake concerning the mule, not even that did he comprehend" (cf. περὶ αὐτῶν...τά, 11. 51. 6).

§ 6. οὗτος] Bähr translates μυλός iste. The omission of the article might be justified (9. 2, n.). But prob. the meaning is: 'this Cyrus (who fulfilled the oracle) was really a mule.'

§ 7. τοῖς ἀπασί] Cf. 1. 3, 'Here as there a rhetorical exaggeration.' St.

§ 8. Ἰωνίας] 'This reference to Ionia is meant to recall the real subject of the work, Croesus having been mentioned only because he was the first to enslave Greeks (5. 5; 6. 2). The three chapters which follow conclude the Λύδος λόγος (75. 1, n.).

τὴν πρώτην] Cf. 159. 2.

Ch. 92. § 1. 'Ελλάδα] In a wide sense, here including the Greek cities of Asia Minor. So the term comprises Sicily, vii. 157. 3; Cyrene, Rhodes, and Samos, ii. 182. 1. εἰρημένα] Chs. 50 foll.

τῇς Βωστῶν] Added to distinguish it from Thebes in Egypt.

τρίπτων χρ.] This temple seems to have been famous for its tripods. Cf. v. 59, 60; Pind. Pyth. xi. 5, ἐκ...χρυσῶν ἐς αὐτῶν τριπτών θησαυρόν, ἐν περιλλ' ἑτίμασα Δοξίας Ισμήνων δ' ὑστραβεῖν.
This seems to imply that the temple (of Artemis) was being built. We have τὸν κλωνα, iv. 184. 6. Both genders are found in Homer.

Προνήθης Sc. 'Αθηναίης, so called, because her temple stood in front of the great temple of Apollo. Προνήθης has been unnecessarily suggested.

§ 3. τὰ τῶν ἀναγραφής.] τὰ, if right, repeats for the sake of clearness: 'those others, I mean, of the offerings.' But it is not unlikely, as Krüger suggests, that τὰ here has slipped in from the line above, the original reading having been: ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καὶ έτι...τὰ δ’ ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναγραφής ἀναγραφής. In the next clause supply ἐστὶ καὶ Κροῖσος as predicate.

Τῆς Μιλησίων] So Br. τὸς Μ., ii. 159, 3. It has been proposed to read ης in both passages (cf. i. 46. 2), since we have τοῦ Βρ., 158. 1. But the masc. form may refer to the family of priests, who had charge of the temple, the fem. being used when the place itself is meant. Schw.

ὡς ἐγὼ πυθα.] These words belong to what follows (22. 7, n.). οὐκ ὁμοίως.] i.e. of similar material and workmanship.

§ 3. τῶν πατρῴων χρ.] The wealth of Croesus was prob. due mainly to the long and comparatively inactive reign of Alyattes.—Grote.

Πανταλέωνι] In construction with both συνειδών and γενέθαι. P. was probably the elder brother, since Croesus was not born till the 23rd year of his father's reign (cf. 25. 1 with 26. 1). St.

§ 5. δόντος τοῦ π.] Acc. to Bähr, Larcher, and others, these words imply that Croesus became king during his father's lifetime. This theory may get rid of chronological difficulties (Clinton, F. H. ii. 298), but can hardly be established from the words of Ἡδτ.
κατηγώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἰρήται. 
και περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθων.

93 Ἡθόματα δὲ γῆ Ἁυδῆ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἶν 
τε καὶ ἅλλη χώρη, τάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμώλου καταφερομένου 
ψήγματος. Ἕν δὲ ἔργον πολλόν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρίς 
τῶν τε Ἁλκυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι 
αὐτόθι Ἀλαύττω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σήμα, τοῦ ἦ κρητίς 
μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σήμα χώμα γῆς. 
ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μὲν οἱ ἄγοραι άνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ χειρώ 
νακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδικαί. οὐροι δὲ, πέντε 
ἔντες, ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἔμε ἤσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἀνω. καὶ σφ 
γράμματα ἐνεκκόλαπτο, τὰ ἐκαστοὶ ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐνὸ μέγιστον.

κατηγώσας] i.e. having made a 
νώ [i.e. taking place of] the offerings 
were made. St. See 164. i, note. 
ἔς τε = ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐς ἐς (ἔργα 
prob. being impersonal).

CH. 93. § 1. Ἡθόματα δὲ κ.κ.λ. 
'Lybian soil contains no vast amount 
of marvels for chronicling, like 
another country.' Most editors insert 
ἡ (which may easily have dropped 
out) before Άυδη, it being Hdt.'s 
regular practice to use the article 
when mentioning a country (19. 5; 
73. 2; 173. 2). But possibly the 
meaning is that given above.

συγγραφὴν Thus indirectly Hdt. 
claims the title of συγγραφεῖν. Com 
pare the Thucydidean use of συγ 
γραφέ. 
οὐ μάλα] 'Non admodum.' Schw.; 
'not exactly,' Kr. See ni. 37. 9. n. 
οἶν τε] qualia fere, is Homeric, 
and virtually = ὅν, like ἐπίκλεσον ὅ 
te πολλοῖς βάκει γαία, Od. xi. 
365. See 14. 8, note.

καὶ ἅλλη] καὶ, which adds em 
phasis in direct comparisons, e.g. 
'Lydia has, as other countries too 
have' (cf. 2. 3, n.)—is retained in 
cases of comparison by contrast,— 
'Lydia has not, as other countries 
too have.'

χώρη] The collective singular 
(179. 3, n.)—'other country' in 
stead of 'other countries.' More 
usually we have the plural (193. 3; 
iii. 107. 1).

καταφερομένου] By the Pactolus. 
ἔργον] an artificial θόμς. See 
note on ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαρᾶ 
at the beginning of the book.

χωρία] With μέγιστον,—'if we 
put aside.'

§ 2. αὐτόθι] In Lydia. So 
αὐτόθι κατακιλαὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς χώρῃ, 
iv. 9. 6.

σήμα] This monument still exists 
near the ruins of ancient Sardis. In 
1853 the interior was explored 
by M. Spiegenthal, Prussian Consul 
at Smyrna, and a sepulchral cham 
bber was discovered composed of large 
blocks of polished marble. The 
mound has an external circumference 
of about half a mile (Abicht).

§ 3. σύροι] 'Land-marks,' i.e. 
pillars of stone; so called because 
they marked off the separate por 
tions of the work done by each class 
of labourers.

γράμματα εὐ.] (sc. λέγοντα), τὰ 
(= ἀτα ἔργα) ἐκαστοὶ ἔργῳ. 

Each of these classes 
(26. 4, n.).
The page contains text in Greek and English, discussing historical and cultural references. The Greek text is translated into English, providing context and analysis. The page is from a book discussing the Trojan War, specifically mentioning the characters and events related to the conflict. The text refers to Homer's portrayal of the war, mentioning specific characters such as Ares, Zeus, and other figures from Greek mythology. The discussion includes references to the Iliad and the Odyssey, highlighting the themes of valor, fate, and the divine intervention in human affairs. The translation and analysis are provided to enhance understanding of the ancient Greek text and its implications in classical literature.
§ 6. Λυδῶν] After verbs of division Hdt. either puts the whole in the gen. and the parts in the accus. (cf. II. 4. 1), or both parts and whole in the accus. (II. 147. 2), or the whole in the accus. and the parts in the accus. with κατά (I. 132. 4).

§ 8. ἐπίπλοα] The occurrence of πλοῖα above seems to have modified the form of this word in the MSS. Elsewhere (150. 3; 164. 4) the form is ἐπίπλα ('=τὰ ἐξ ἐπιπόλης σκέφθ᾽, ἡ ἐπιπόλαιος κτῆσις').

'Ομβρικούς] A very indefinite region, apparently coextensive with Northern Italy: cf. iv. 49. 4.

§ 9. ἀνῄγαγε] Krüg. suggests ἀνῄγαγε. But if it is necessary to have a definite explanation of the prep., ἀν- may denote either (1) the putting out to sea, in which sense however μαῦν is generally expressed or understood, or (2) the march into the interior on their arrival (ἀνῄγαγον ἐς Σοῦνα, vi. 119. 1). Cf. στρατεύμα ανάξει εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα, vii. 10. 22; λαὸν ἀνῄγαγεν (from Greece to Troy), Hom. Il. ix. 338. 'Led up' need not mean much more than 'led forth.'

'Tυρσηνοὺς] For an examination of the legend, see Smith's Dict. Geogr. Etruria; Mommsen, Hist. Rome, i. 129. The Latin poets were fond of alluding to this supposed origin of the Etruscans: Hor. Sat. i. 6. 1; Virg. Aen. ii. 781; Statius, Silva. iv. 4. 6; Plaut. Curc. i. 2. 63.

CH. 95. § 1. ὁ λόγος] Not here used of any detached portion of the work (75. 1, note) but of the general plan of his narrative (II. 123. 1).

'Cf. προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδίητο, iv. 30. 1. The present λόγος (which properly finishes
at the end of ch. 130) gives the story of Cyrus with an account of the rise of the Median and Persian empires. To this however is appended an account of Persian customs (chs. 131—140), corresponding to the digression on Lydian ἐργα and νόμοι (chs. 93, 94); and afterwards the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Harpagus (chs. 141—176) and the campaigns of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae (177—216) are tacked on to the present λόγος (cf. ἄνειμι ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον, 140, 5). Thus the programme laid down here (τὸν τε Κῦρον... 'Ἀσίης) is completely carried out.

[95. 2. Χρόνον] 13, 3. note.

§ 2. τριφασίας ἄλογα] The commentators identify these with the accounts given by Ctesias (Pers. Fr. 635), Xenophon (Cyrop.); and Aeschylus (770).

[95. 2. Χρόνον] Cf. ἔφασε τῶν ἐντα λόγον, 110, 7.

§ 3. 'Ἀσυριων] i.e. the inhabitants of Nineveh (103. 4: cf. 178, 2, n.).

[95. 2. Χρόνον] Εὐκοτοι καὶ π.] B.C. 1230—711, Clinton.

πρῶτοι... ἄλογον] Cf. 2, 1, n.

[95. 2. Χρόνον] 'Proved themselves.' οὐ μὲν τι καταγράφων χερεῖ ν | γιγαντ. ὡς καὶ ἐτάφος ἐνω τενυμένα εἰδή, Hom. Od. VIII. 585. κ᾽ οὐκ implies that Hdt. had no trustworthy account of the details.

§ 4. 'Εσόντων... περήλθον] For the gen. abs., see 3. 3. The words αὐτούμων and τυραννίδας are used from the point of view of a Greek. Cf. II. 147, 2, n.

CH. 96. § 1. 'Δηνόκησι The story of D. describes what may be called the despot's progress, first as candidate and afterwards as fully established.' Grote, H. G. II. 415 (III. 310). Two or three MSS. omit chs. 96—100 inclus., giving in their place a short summary of the facts contained in them.

§ 2. κατὰ κόμας] i.e. without any common political centre (cf. ἐν πόλιμα, 98. 4): a state of things quite opposed to Asiatic experience. Compare the state of Attica before Theseus, Thuc. II. 15. 2. See below, 170. 4, note.
προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἦσκες καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, ἐώσης ἀνομίας πολλῆς ἀνὰ τᾶςαν τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἐποίεε ἢπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαῖῳ τὸ δικαὶον πολεμῶν ἐστι. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μηδοὶ ἔριντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαιεῖν μὲν ἐωσήν αἰρέωντο. ὣ δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεόμενοι ἑφίσσι, ἱδος τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποίεον τε ταῦτα ἐπιμενὸν ἔχειν ὀνεὶ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω ὡστε πυθαγορισμοῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀλλη ἀλληγορίᾳ κομήσι τῶν Δηιόκης εἶν ἀνήρ μοῦνος κατὰ τῷ ὀρθῶν δικαίων. πρότερον περιπτύντοντες ἀδίκουσα γνώμησι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε ἡκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἔφοιτεν παρὰ τῶν Δηιόκεα καὶ αὐτοῦ δικασάμενον τέλος δὲ, οὕδεν ἄλλω ἐπετράπτωντο. Πλεύνος δὲ, αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπὶ- φοιτεόντος, οἷα πυθαγορισμοῦν τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνεις κατὰ τῷ ἐδών, γνοὺς ὁ Δηιόκης ἐς ἐωτυν πάν ἀνακείμενον, οὕτω κατίζεις ἐτὶ ἥθελε ἐνθα περὶ πρότερον προκατίζουν ἐδίκαζε. οὐτ’ ἐφ’ ἄλλων ἐτὶ. οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυστελείν, τῶν ἐωτυν ἐξημελεκτόκατε, τοῖσι πέλας δε’ ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐώσης ὁν ἀρταγόρης καὶ ἀνομίας ἐς πολλῆς μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἡ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μηδοὶ ἐς τῶντο, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίζα λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκότων. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ 4 δοκεῶ μᾶλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηιόκεω φίλοι: “Οὐ γὰρ δὴ,
this effect,—this more than anything else expressed their view. μάλιστα, in this sense of *se", usually has κη (καί) joined with it by Hdt. Here κη comes later.

γάρ] See 8. 1, n.

τάτον αυτῶν] Partitive gen.

έργα] Larcher restricts this to agricultural pursuits (36. 1, n.), but cf. Hom. H. xxiii. 55, where Achilles bids Agamemnon pile a heap of wood that thus the body of Patroclus may be burned, λαοὶ δ’ εξί έργα σάραωνται. Prob. here, as there, έργα has a perfectly general sense. Cf. II. 119. 1.

κή (μάλιστα, above) implies that the speech is imaginary.

Ch. 98. § 1. πολλάς] ‘Frequens ab unoquoque viro proponentur et laudabantur.’ Bähr. So ολέωντος, 120. 5; ταῦτας, IX. 109. 4.

§ 4. ‘And at last;’ 158. 3, note.

§ 2. αὐτῶν] (not έν αὐτῶν) because αὐτῶν is the subject of κρατῶν (see note on αὐτῷ, 86. 6).

§ 5. ταῦτα τά νῦν] ‘Those, I mean, which.’ ταῦτα is added as an afterthought, and so there is no need of an article with τείχεα.

‘Αγβάτανα] In the Behistun Inscription (125. 5, n.) the word is Hagmatān. ‘In the Greek poets the last three syllables are short, yet there cannot be a doubt that the natives called the city Hagmatān.’ Rawlinson.

έτερον] Agrees with κύκλων understood, the part being put in apposition with the whole (τείχεα). See II. 41. 4, note. For the collocation, cf. ἄπαξ ἄλλον τεύχος ἄλλο ἄλλων θεον, 102. 3; ‘sordidus a tenui victu distabit,’ Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 53 (St.). The same idiom is involved in the phrase ἐναυτῆι γραμμ. 307. 1.

§ 6. τείχεα] ‘Stronghold,’ thus including all the τείχεα mentioned above. Cf. 80. 8; II. 118. 3.
§ 7. τὸ μὲν κοῦ τι [κοῦ has the force of an opt. with ἐκ, i.e. it implies a mere conjecture on the part of Hdt.] St.

ἐν] More usually the participle of ἐκλιστ is put in construction with the predicate: e.g. 68. 4.

μᾶλλὸν τι] 'To a still (καὶ) greater extent' (cf. 114. 4; 117. 1); i.e. art has done even more than nature. Schw. suggests that τι may go with τὸ δὲ, so as to answer to τὸ μὲν τι above, but the order is against this.

κύκλων ἐόντων κ.τ.λ.] 'Since there are seven,' &c. The meaning seems to be that the arrangement of so many walls in this way implied considerable skill.

θησαυροὶ] 'Treasure-houses,' as at 14. 4. 'Hdt. prob. obtained his information from the Medes he met with at Babylon.' See Dict. Geogr. Escolania.

§ 8. τὸ δὲ ἀτόμων μὲν.] The participative genitive inserted between article and subst. See 165. 1, n.

κατὰ] 'About the same in size as.' lit. 'after the standard of:' cf. κατὰ Ἑθριδᾶτων, ch. 121. ὁ κύκλος was the regular phrase for the ring-wall at Athens (Thuc. II. 13. 8). In the oracles given by Hdt., VII. 140. 2, Athens is called ἐκλισ προ-

κουδῆς. The fortified portion of the κύκλος was 43 stadia in length (Thuc. I. c.): the remainder acc. to the Scholiast 17: total 60 stadia.

λευκό] 'The seven colours here mentioned are precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, Saturn being black, Jupiter orange, Mars scarlet, the sun golden, Venus white, Mercury azure, and the moon green,—a hue which is applied by the Orientals to silver.' Rawlinson. Compare the myth (also of Eastern origin) in Plato's Rep. (X. 616 e.) where we have the motions of the heavenly bodies represented by eight (i.e. the earth is included) concentric rings, with rims rising in height from the circumference to the centre, —κύκλους ἀνωθέν τὰ χειλη φαι-

νωτας. The colours however are much modified. Jupiter is a bright, and Mercury a dull, white; Saturn and Venus are ἐκκυβερνεῖσκελίνων, and Mars is ὑπερφθερων.


δύο δὲ οἱ τελ. [δύο δὲ οἱ τελ.] 'Two, the last' = the two last.' Cf. δύο τὰ μέ-

γιστά, VII. 47. 4; πέντε τῶν δοκι-

μων, 'the five chief,' VII. 129. 3.

καταγρυγμοῦν] 'Silvered over.'

So κατακηρύσσω, 140. 2; καταχαλλός, VI. 50. 4.
'Etiquette.' Strictly these words only belong to diekosphēs. Cf. 59. 1 (St.).

'Consult' (47. 3, n.). Bähr takes πᾶντα as the masc. sing. (= ξιστον). But in this sense Ηdt. generally uses πᾶς τις, e.g. 50. 2; III. 79. 1, or πᾶς ἄνθρ., e.g. 98. 1; II. 95. 3. (At VII. 197. 3, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκνάθες, prob. πᾶς = totus.) It is better therefore here to take πᾶντα as the neut. plur. in an adverbial sense (155. 3), and to supply τινά from μηδένα as the subject of χρέωςαί. 'After ἄνθρωπον prob. τίνος not βασιλέως is to be supplied: cf. 133. 4.' Krüg. This explanation is confirmed by καὶ ἄνθρωπος (=not merely for the ἄγγελον in the king's presence but) also for all. τουτὸ γε is added pleonastically for the sake of emphasis (11. 68. 5, n.).

Habitu se augustiorem fecit' (of Romulus), Livy, I. 8. 1 (St.). 'Hedged himself round with this state.'

The plural verb after a neut. subst. is not uncommon in Ηdt. (cf. 139. 2; II. 138. 1; III. 88. 4; al.). Possibly some instances may be explained by supposing a sort of personification (see 11. 96. 4, note), and others by emphasizing the plurality of the parts (I. 139. 2, n.). But other cases
κλείων. τουτον δικας μεταπέμφαι, κατ’
αξιν ἐκαστον ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίων. καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε
καὶ κατήκεσαν ἄνα πάσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἥρχη.

101. Δηῖκες μὲν νυν τοῦ Μῆδικον ἔθνος συνέστρεφε μοῦνον,
καὶ τοῦτον ἥρξε. ἐστὶ δὲ Μῆδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βουσαλ,
Παρητακινοῦ, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοὶ, Βουδινοὶ, Μάγοι. γε-

102 νεα μὲν δὴ Μῆδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηῖκες δὲ παῖς γίνεται Ἑ
Φραόρτης, δὲ, τελευτήσαντος Δηῖκεως, βασιλεύσαντος τρία
καὶ πευκήκοντα ἠτα, παραδέξατο τὴν ἄρχην. παραδεξά-μενος
δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχράτο μοῦνον ἄρχειν τῶν Μῆδων' ἀλλὰ
στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Πέρσας, προτομίῃ τε τοῦτοις,
ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρῶτοις Μῆδων ὑπηκούσις ἐποίησε. μετὰ3

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Κναξάρης ὅτι
Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηῖκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἐτὶ

remain (e.g. where, as at II. 138. 1, both sing. and plur. verbs are used of the same subject), which no more admit of these elaborate explanations, than do the instances of this idiom in Homer.

ὅχως μεταπέμψατο] See note, 17. 4.
καὶ οἱ] οἱ is the dative of the pronoun: cf. 103. 5.
κατάσκοποι] See note, 114. 2.

Ch. 101. συνέστρεψα] This = συνέγγυσι ἐν τολίσμα τού ἄρχηνσαν, 98. 4; hitherto the different γένεα had been under semi-independent chieftains. The second τοσάδε refers to what precedes, cf. τάδε, 117. 4; ὅπε, 126. 7; τοῦπε, 180. 1. This use is esp. common, when the same word is also used in the same sentence to refer to what follows. Conversely we find οὕτως (τού ὑτως) of what follows: 125. 1; 178. 2, etc.

Ch. 102. § 1. παραδέξατο] B.C.
656, Clinton : 658, Grote, who places the commencement of Median history at this point. Ph. was named after his grandfather (96. 1).

§ 4. καὶ 'Ἀσσυρῶν] καὶ has an explanatory or restrictive force: 'those Assyrians, I mean, who.' The name 'Ἀσσυρῶν is applied by Hdt. to the Babylonians as well (178. 1), who were on friendly terms with the Medes (74. 5).

ἐσωτῖν] 'At home,' as opposed to their loss of foreign power.

ἐς ἡτερας] See 30. 8, n.

Ch. 108. § 1. Κναξάρης] B.C.
636—595. Grote.
γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων καὶ πρῶτος τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρίς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας' πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἵνα πάντα ὀμοίως ἀναπεφυμένα. Οὗτος οὐ τοῖς Λυδοῖς ἐστὶ μαχασώμενος, 3 ὅτε νῦν ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγενέτο σφι μαχασώμενοι, καὶ ο timespec Αἰλνος ποταμὸν ἄνω Ἁσίην πᾶσαν συντήσας ἐσωτήρ. Συλλέξας δὲ 4 τοὺς ὑπ’ ἑωτῷ ἀρχαμένους πάντας, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνου, τιμωρεῖν τε τῷ-πατρὶ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελείν. καὶ οἱ, ὦς συμβαλλών ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, 5 περικατημένω τῇ Νίνου, ἐπήλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύνου παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἁσίην, Κυμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπιστόμουνει φεύγοντες, 104 οὖν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπικομτο. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς 1 λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμέρεσιν εὐξόμων ὀδός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ 2 πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν. ἄλλα ἐν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἐθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπερες· τούτῳ δὲ παραμειβομένους

§ 2. [Δόχος κατὰ τ. ’] ‘Set them in companies, by troops.’ The δόχος in its technical sense (e.g. IX. 53. 2) was a smaller and prob. a more definite division of an army than the τέλος.

§ 3. [ὁ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] See 74. 2. ἄνω] i.e. to the east of: cf. 130. 1, where ἄνω precedes its case.

'Ασίην πᾶσαν] Used without any very definite meaning (cf. 104. 4; 130. 4). Strictly speaking, the phrase would include the Ἀράμης and the Ἰππολ (IV. 39, 40) who were independent in the time of Cambyses and Darius (III. 7. 2; IV. 44. 3). Cf. τῆς Ἁσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξερεύθη, IV. 44. 1.

συντήσας ἑ] This seems to imply a league with C. as president.

§ 4. [τὴν Νίνου] Its fem. gender serves to distinguish it from the mythical hero Ninos (7. 3: cf. ‘convenient ad busta Nini.’, Ov. Met. VIII. 88). The names of cities and countries in -σα, -ου are generally feminine on the analogy of νόσος &c., but where there is no analogy to justify the fem., the genders follow the termination, e.g. τὰ Δεύκτρα, τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ Σελήνου.

§ 5. [Κυμερίους] See 6. 4; 15. 2; IV. 11. 1.

οὖτω] simply repeats ἐπιστόμουνει.

§ 6. [Μαιήτιδος] We have Μαιώτων, IV. 3. 2. The position of the Palus Maetis (mod. Sea of Azov) in Hdt.'s geography is described, IV. 90—101: that of the Phasis (mod. Kion), IV. 37, 45, 86. τριήκοντα] The distance between the two is but little more than the distance called a five days' journey at 72. 3, but the difficulties of the route would be much greater.

§ 2. [ὑπερβηναι] Prob. implies more than the mere crossing of the borders: ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σα-σπερῶν δρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα, 110. 3.
Supply ἐστὶ (= ἔστι) from οὗ πολλῶν (ἔστι) above (Kr.). Or οὗ πολλῶν (ἔστι) = ἐβεβηθὸν ἔστι, and this notion governs εἵνα (St.).

§ 3. τὴν κατύπερθε δὴν] Hdt. seems to mean that the Cimmerians went along the eastern shore of the Black Sea (to the west of Mount Caucasus), and so passed into Asia Minor through Colchis, while the Scythians followed the more circuitous route along the shore of the Caspian, to the east of Mount Caucasus (to the east of the Caspian acc. to Stein), and further inland (κατύπερθε) from the Black Sea: cf. ἐστὶ μεσόγαιαν τῆς οὖσαν πραγμάτευσεν, IV. 12. 4. But there are great difficulties, for (1) the eastern shore of the Black Sea is impracticable, and hence Niebuhr suggests that the Cimmerians entered Asia Minor by the western shore, (2) the pursuit is in itself improbable after the abandonment of the territory, and (3) the mistake in the route (ἀμαρτώτες τῆς ὄδος, IV. 12. 3) still more so. Grot. H. G. II. 430 (III. 335). ὄδος is a quasi-cognate accus. as if the simple verb ἀπαλέῳθα had been used. Cf. ἀπερείπτα ἦν, 152. 4.

ἐνεῖν ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἔστε-3 βαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὄδον πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα 4 οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖς Σκύθσι καὶ ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τῆν 105 Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἥδεισαν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπεί τε ἔγενοτο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ, Ψαμμήτωνος σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δῷροις τε καὶ λλησία ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οὶ 2 δὲ, ἐπεί τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὅπισω, ἔγενοτο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεονῶν Σκυθέων παρεξεβόντων ἀσινέων, ὅλογοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίας Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρὸν. ἔστι δὲ τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν, ὡς 3 ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαίαταν ἱρῶν ὡσα
§ 4. τὸ ἐν Κ. ἱδρ. At Paphos. Tacitus gives a description of the image there (Hist. II. 3. 5).

ταύτης] Added to distinguish this Syria from the country of the Cappadocians (6. I. 72. 1).

§ 5. ὁ θεός] Some MSS. have ὁ θεὸς. See II. 133, 2 n.

ἱθλέαν ν.] 'Smote them with disease, that they became women instead of men.' Hippocrates (cotemp. with Hdt.) discusses the matter (de Aer. Ag. et Loc., 22).

ἀμα] can hardly go 'with λέγουσι in the sense of 'concur in saying.' It must therefore couple the two clauses διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσεῖν, and ὅρα...ὡς διακέται,—'state at one and the same time both the former cause and the present observed effects,' τε is out of its place.

τοὺς ἀπουκ.] i.e. travellers who visit Scythia. Thus τοὺς ἀτρ. is the subject of ὅρα...ὁρᾶ...ὡς διακέται, is τοὺς καλέοσι κ.τ.λ.

Ἐναφέας] ἀδρογγύνους, IV. 67. 3. Hippocrates translates it by ἀναφέρειas.

CH. 106. § 1. σφὶ] 'Through them,' because ἀνάστατα ἂν is equivalent to a passive verb (St.). χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Hdt. means that the Scythians employed three modes of levying supplies:—(1) the regular tribute, φόρος, φόρον, (2) an extraordinary impost, ἐπηργοσαν κ.τ.λ., (3) irregular pillage, ἱππαζον κ.τ.λ. With the repetition, cf. πρωτοῖς...κ.τ.λ., 102. 2. Reiske proposed φόρον ('as tribute') for φόρων. Krtg. also omits τοῦ φόρου, so that χωρὶς μὲν—κ.τ.λ. = partim—partim. Blakesley reads χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων (ἐπηργοσαν γὰρ ἐκάστων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον κ.τ.λ.), but we should have expected ἐκάστων on this view (instead of ἐκάστων), as at III. 58. 4. There is no real reason for altering the text. Though Hdt. uses τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (IV. 115. 1), the transitive ἐπιβάλλων may be justified by ἐπιβάλλει ἦμης, VI. 93. 3; φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλων, VII. 3. 1.

§ 3. καὶ τὴν τῷ Ν.] kal here seems to correspond to μὲν (τούτων μὲν, above): like Homer's κάρπωται
λόγοισι δηλώσω,) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίως ἐποιήσαντο, πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 4 
Κυαξάρης μὲν βασιλεύσας τεσσάρακοντα ἔτεα, σὺν τοῖς ἴσηι, Σκίβαι ήρξαν, τελευτά.

107 Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κυαξάρεως παῖς, τῆν βασιλείαν, καὶ οἱ ἔγεντο θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖν ἔθετο Μανδάνην, τῇν ἐδοκεὶ Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ οὐρήσας τοσοῦτον, ὡστε δὲ πλήσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσας δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίνη πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενοι δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖς οἰνεροτέρως λαοῖς τὸ ἐνυπνοῦν, ἐφοβήθην, παρ’ αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἐκαστα μαθῶν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, ἐούσαν ἢδη ἄνδρος ὀραίην, 4 
Μηδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἁξίων οὐδεὶς διδοῦ θυμάθη, δεδοκιμασμένη τὸν ὁμίλον ὁ δὲ Πέρσης διδοῖ, τῷ οὖν ἔτους Ἱμαβώςις, τῶν εὐρίσκει δικίης μὲν ἐντα ἁγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἱσυχίου, πολλῶν 

μὲν ἔσον καὶ καρπίστοις ἐμάχοντο (II. i. 167). So we have μὲν followed by ἀταρ, II. 92. 2; cf. ἤνεις μὲν... 

'Εκτιτροφός βοής.] An allusion to the Ἀσσυρίους λάργοι (184. 1, n.). 

πλὴσι τῆς Βαβ.] According to later authorities the Babylonians actually assisted the Medes at the siege. Cf. 74. 5. 

§ 4. σὺν τοῖς = σὺν τούτοις τα, ‘counting those during which.’ 

For the fate of the Scythians after their retreat, see IV. 1—4. 

CH. 107 § 1. Ἀστυάγης] 595 

B. c. For the story of Cyrus, see Grote III. 157 (IV. 247). ‘This only is historically true that the daughter of king Astyages of Media was married to Cambyses, a vassal prince, or some Persian of rank.’ Niebuhr. 

'Εστο] So δεμέρη, 113. 5. The middle voice, because the child is regarded as a part of the parent:—τὸ τέκνων ἦν δὲ ἢ πηλίκων καὶ μὴ 


§ 3. αὐτὰ ἐκαστα.] Blakesley compares Daniel, ii. 3, foll., where the king merely states that he has 

had a dream and expects the soothsayers to tell him the details of it. On this view αὐτὰ ἐκαστα would = the exact incidents of the dream, one by one, and it would be possible to retain the MS. reading ἐποθέ- 

μενος,—having laid down the fact of the dream, as a basis on which they might employ their art. But it is prob. better to accept ἐποθέμενος (cf. 108. 3) and understand by αὐτὰ ἐκαστα (= ἀνδόκαστα), ‘the plain truth’ as opposed to the sym- 

bolism of the dream. Stein quotes καὶ ταῦτα μὲντοι μηδὲν αἰνωθρόπως. 

ἀλλ’ αὐθέκαστα ἐκφοράς. Aeschin. Prom. 950. For the use of the plur. without any thing definite to which it can refer, see 91. 1, note. 

§ 4. δ διὰ Π.] For Πέρσης δὲ. 

This insertion of the pronoun with δὲ is common in Hdt., esp. when the antecedent clause with μὲν is negative. Cf. 17. 4; 171. 2; 196. 4. 

ἀπὸ] Cf. ἂτοτι (= ὄτοτι) IV. 

103. 3; τὸδε, 1. 113. 2. 

οὐκεῖς ἁγαθῆς] the Achaemenidae. 

Cf. 125. 5; 209. 3; Xerxes derives his descent from Achaemenes through Cyrus and the elder Cambyses, vil. 

II. 3. 

τρόπου] ‘Turn of mind.’
108 ἐνερήθε ἄγων αὐτοῦ μέσον ἀνδρὸς Μήδου. Συνοικεύσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἰδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἔδοκε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταίτης φίλαιν ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχείν τὴν 'Ασίην πᾶσαν. ἵδων δὲ τούτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖς ὀνειροπόλοις, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τῆς θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐνιώταν. ἀπικομείνην δὲ ἐφύλασσε, βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον εἰς αὐτής διαφθείρας ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον, ὦτι μέλλοι ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύς εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὃς ἐγένετο ὁ Κύρος, καλέσας Ἀρταγοῦ, ἀνδρα ὀλικῆν καὶ πιστοτάτον τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπιτροπὸν τῶν ἑσωτήρων, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιῶν "Ἀρταγοῦ, πρῆγμα τὸ αὐτοὶ προσβεβόλω; μηδεις περασχης μηδεις ἐμὲ τὸ παραβάλλω, καὶ ἀλλοι ελώμενος, εἴ υἱότητι σοι ἑσωτήρ περιπέτειας ἐλάθε τῶν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παιδα, φέρων δὲ ἑς σεωτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον μετὰ δὲ θάλψον τρόπον ὅτε αὐτὸ βούλειι. 'Ο δὲ ἄμει.
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βεταί: "Ω Βασιλεύ, οὔτε ἀλλοτέ κω παρείδης ἀνδρὶ τὸδε άχαρι οὔδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ εἰς σὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τὸι φίλον τοῦτο οὔτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τὸ γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἐπιτυγδέως." Τού-ι τοσι ἀμεργάμενος ὁ "Ἀρπαγος, δις οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίου κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ήὼ κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρ-ελθὼν δὲ ἐφρασε τῇ ἐνωτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγεις: "Νῦν οὐν τί σοι ἐν 2 νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται: "Οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγε. οὔδ’ εἰ παραφροσύνης τε καὶ μακείται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὔδ’ εἰς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἶνεκα οὐ苑εως 3 μν’ καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς εστιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγες μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων, καὶ ἀπαίσ ἔρεσες γόνου. εἰ δὲ 4 εὐλαβέσι, τοιοῦτο τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβηγή ἡ τυράννη, ἢς νῦν τὸν νῦν κτείνει δ’ ἐμεῖν, ἄλλο τι ἡ λειπεται τὸ ἐνθύτευτο ἐμοι κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἄλλα

§ 8. ἄδηλον τὸδε] Instead of ἐμοι, 'with tragic pathos.' St. For ὀμέτε —δὲ, cf. τε—δὲ, II. 126. 2, n.

τὸ γε [μν’] It is right for me and mine (whatever others may do). VIII. 140. 3, ἢ μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον (= ομείας) αὐτῶν γεννηται. δὴ marks the apodosis, 'then'.

Ch. 109. § 1. τὴν ἐκλ. θαν.] So III. 119. 3, ἔδριε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Constructions of this kind stand on a different footing from mere adverbal uses of the fem. (e. g. ἐξ ὑστορίας, 108. 6), and may fairly be explained by supposing the omission of some fem. subst. Here we may either supply ὁδόν on the analogy of τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιειμένοι, VII. 223. 3, or (more prob.) take a cogn. accurs. (κένομεν) from the verb (Schw.). Cf. τὴν αὑτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένω (so. σταλή) VII. 63. 1; τὴν αὑτὴν ἐκενασμένωι (sc. κενενα) VII. 84. κεκοσμημένος is explained by III. 5; 112. 5.

'Ἀστυάγε.] The possessive gen. used instead of ὅποι or ἐς. Cf. II. 18. 1.

§ 2. οὗ οἶ] Notice the Homeric hiatus, like οὗ οἶ δικές (II. xv. 496), as if there were still a reminiscence of the digamma. The Ionic dialect takes no trouble to avoid a hiatus: e. g. it does not use the π οφελοστι-κόν.

§ 3. ἀπαίσ ἐρος. γόνων] So v. 36. 3, θαυράτες τῆς βασιλίσσῃς. Hom. Od. iv. 788, κεῖτ’ ἕπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπάσ τοῦτοι ἐδήμιοι ἰδὶ ποτὸτοι. Soph. O.T. 190, ἀχάλκος ἄστιδων (St.).

§ 4. ἀναβήναι] VII. 205. 2, ἐς ἀναβήναιν ἀνέβαιε η βασιλή, ἀνα- prob. as in ἀναχωρέω (cf. ἡ βασιλική ἀνεχωρήσει ἐς τὸν παῖδα, VII. 4. 3), the king’s power being considered to return and commence afresh on the accession of a new monarch (7. 1, n.).

ἄλλο τι] ἄλλο τι, Bahr: but this would more naturally be written τι ἄλλο, as at Thuc. III. 39. 2. Properly the sentence ought to run: ἄλλο τι λειτεραί ... ἡ κινδύνων κ.τ.λ. But ἄλλο τι ἢ becomes a regular interrogative formula: = nonne.
τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἶνεκα ἐμοὶ δεὶ τοῦτον τελεύταν τῶν παιδα·
δεὶ μέν τοῦ τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ
ισσοὶ τῶν ἔμων." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἀγγελοῦ ἐπεμετε ἐπὶ
τῶν βουκολῶν τῶν Ἀστυάγεός, τῶν ἦπιστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτυχι-
δεσκότας νέμοντα, καὶ οὐρεα θηριωδέστατα. τῷ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἣν
Μιτραδάτης, συνοικεῖ δὲ τῇ ἐωντοῦ συνδοῦλῳ οὖν οὐνομα δὲ τῇ
γυναικῆ ἢ τῇ συνοικεῖ, Κυνω κατὰ τὴν Ἐλληνῶν γλώσσαιρ,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικῆς Σπακᾶς τὴν ἡπάρ κύνα καλέων σπάκα
Μηδοῦ. αἱ δὲ ὑπόρεα εἰσὶ τῶν οὐρέων ἐνᾶ τὰς νόμας τῶν
βουν ἔχει οὕτως δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν
Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τῶν Εὐξείων. ταῦτῃ μὲν 
γὰρ ἡ Μηδικῆ χώρῃ πρὸς Σαστεῖρων ὑμηνὴ ἢστε κάρτα καὶ
ὑψηλῇ τε καὶ ἱδης συνηρῆφις. δὲ ἄλλῃ Μηδικῆ χώρῃ
ἐστὶ πᾶσα ᾧτος. ἔπει ἂν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ 4
καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε τῷ Ἀρταγός τάδε "Κελεύει σε
Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίνο τοῦτο λαστάντα θεῖαι εἰς τὸ ἐρημοῖτον
τῶν οὐρέων, ὅκως ἄν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ, καὶ τάδε τοῖς
ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτένησις αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τεῳ τρόπῳ
περιποίησθε, ὅλεθρο τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι ἐπορᾶν
碘 τῆς ἐκκείμενον τεταγμα ἐγώ." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, 1
καὶ ἀναλάβω τὸ παιδίνο τῇ τὴν αὐτῆς ὅπισώ ὅδον, καὶ
ἀπικνεῖται ἔς τὴν ἐπαύλην. τῷ ὅ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, 2
ἐπίτεχε ἐουσά πᾶσαι ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει,
οἰχομένου τοῦ Βουκόλου ἐστὶν τὸ νόμον. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέριος, τὸ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἄρρωσεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ, τὸ τι οὐκ ἐσώς ὁ "Ἀρταγός μετα-
πέμψατο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἔπει τὸ δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀεὶπτοῦ ἱδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ, εἰρέτο προτέρη, τὸ τι μὴν ἦτο προθύμως "Ἀρταγός μεταπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ ἐπε" Ὡ γύναι, 4 ἐλίδον τε ἐς πόλιν ἑλθὼν καὶ ἴκουσα, τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον, μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπτότας τοὺς ἰμετέρους. ὁ οἰκὸς μὲν πᾶς Ἀρτάγο χλαυμῷ κατείχετο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγείς ἦσιν ἐσώ. ὅς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆθον, ὅρεω παιδίων προκείμενον, 5 ἀσταφρῶν τε καὶ κρανγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἑσθήτη ποικίλη. ὁ Ἀρταγός δὲ ὥσ εἶδε με, ἐκεῖνε τὴν τα-6 χίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίων, ὁ ὁχεσθαί φέροντα, καὶ θείαιν  ἑνθα θηριώδεστατον εἰς τῶν ὕπερον, φῶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τῶν ταύτα ἐπιθέμενον μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα τοιέσαμη. καὶ ἑγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἑφερόν, δοκέων τῶν τῶν 7 οἰκετέων εἶναι ὃς γὰρ ἀν κοτε κατέδοξα ἑνθεῖ γε ἦν. ἐθάμ-
βεον δὲ ὅρεω χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἴμαις κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεώτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρτάγο. καὶ πρόκα 8 τε δὴ κατ᾽ ὁδὸν πυθάνομαι καὶ παύτα λόγον θεράπτωτος, ὅς ἑμὲ προτέμφων ἐξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος ὁ ἄρα Μαιύνης τε εἰς πάις τῆς Ἀστυάγεω θυγατρός καὶ Καμ-

κατείδον τὰς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ νήσ. VII. 194. 1 κως κατὰ διάμορα exactly = ἔτη τὸ ἄδηπτον (144. 7). Cf. θείαν γαμήλιον κρεώμενος, 62. 5 οὐ̣νθαβεῖν: 86. 3; θείαν κρεώμενος, 122. 3. ἐτέρας τοὺς τόκους This depends on ἐν patience acc. to Abicht: but the gen. after ἄρρωσεν may be paralleled by φίλου δεῖσας, Soph. O. την ἐκστάσις ἡλείας, Thuc. II. 65. 4. αὐτῆς] See II. 121. 14, note on αὐτοῦ. § 4. τὸ] is accus. in the first clause, and nom. (to ἄρρωσε) in the second. Cf. 39. 1, note. οἰκὸς ταῖς] Cf. τῶν λόγων, 21. 2. § 5. κρανγανόμενον] Nowhere else used. Lobeck suggests κραν-
γανόμενον on the analogy of κλαγ-
gaνον (Phryn. 337). § 7. κλαυθμὸν] depends on ὀρέων. But the expression is not so strong as the κτύποι δεδομένα of Aesch. (Sept. 100), since Oriental mourning implies a good deal of outward and visible ceremonial. § 8. καὶ πρόκα τε] So always in Hdt., wherever the phrase occurs. Hence Schw. proposes to read πρό-
κατε in one word. Stein compares the formation of πρόκα (from πρὸ), with αἴτικα, ἄρα. ὅτι ἄρα] 'That after all, ac-
tually.' Cf. ἐνθέν γε above, § 7.
βάσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείναι.

112 νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστὶ. "Ἄμα δὲ ταύτα ἔλεγεν ὁ Βουκόλος, καὶ ὶ ἐκκαλύφας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἦ δὲ, ὅσιε ὁ παιδιόν μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδές ἄν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γυνατῶν τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἔχρησες μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθείναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ὅσι τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐπιφούτησει γὰρ κατασκόπους ὡς Ἀρπάγου ἐπογομένους ἀπολέσσαί τε κάκιστα, ἣν μὴ σφαίρα ποιήσῃ. οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε: "Ἐπει τοῖνοι ὑπὸ δύναμιν σὲ ὶ πείθειν μὴ ἐκθείναι, σὺ δὲ ὁδε ἐποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα γε ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ ἀτεθνώς τούτῳ μὲν φέρων πρόβες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος curacy διαφόροις πάιδαι ὡς ἐξ ἡμέοι ἐόπντα τρέφωμεν καὶ οὐτὸς οὐτὲ σὺ ἀλώσεις ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας, οὐτὲ ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἐστιτ. ό τε γὰρ ἀτεθνῶς βασιλῆθης ταφῆς κυρήσει, 5 113 καὶ ὁ περευεὶς οὐκ ἀπολείπει τὴν ψυχήν." Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ Βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεύτων εὐδέλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταύτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατῶσων παῖδα, τούτου μὲν ἐπαραλαλοὶ ἡ ἐνοτος γυνακᾶι· τὸν δὲ ἐνοτου, ἐόπντα νεκρῶν,
καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεικατής ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτῶν τοῦν ἤγενόμενον ἑξεφθηνε μν. ἐπαιζὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἡσαυ, καὶ αἱ βοοκόλαι αὐτῶν, ἐπαιζὲ δὲ μετὰ ἄλλων ἠλίκων ἐν ὅδῷ, καὶ οἱ παῖδες παῖζοντες εἰλοντο ἑωτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπικλησιν παῖδα. δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κὼν τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέας εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τῳ τᾶς

ἐν τῷ ἐφέ] ‘In which he had been carrying’ (II. 140. 1, n.).

§ 3. πρόβασκων] Krtg. seems to think that the meaning of this word is still an open question. But the old explanation ‘locum tenens bubulci’ gives a meaning to πρό in composition, which can hardly be paralleled in Greek, although in Lat. we have prœconsul, propraetor. πρόδουλος (Aesch. Ag. 945) is not really parallel, since it = ‘serving as a slave,’ not ‘in the place of the slave’ i.e. it could not be rendered ‘under slave.’ The other explanation of πρόβασκες (L. and S. Lex.) is confirmed by πρόβαστες.

§ 4. δορυφόρων] Hdt. uses the word as if he was talking of a Greek despot (91. 2; 98. 3). Below (117. 5) they are called εὐφρόνεω.

ἐδεί σιά τοῦτον] ‘Quo facit per alium, facit per se.’

§ 5. θεμήν] 107. 1, n.

CH. 114. § 2. καὶ αὐ̄τὰ] As well as the children’s play. Kr.

ἀὐτὰ] Those referred to above, the ἐπανάλος of III. 1.

ἐπικλησιν] See 19. 1. τινι here = in addition to the name which he ought to have had, viz. ‘son of Cambyses.’ The word thus comes to mean ‘nominally.’ Cf. II. xvi. 175, ἐν τέκε Πηλήσιος θυγάτηρ καλὴ Πολυδώρῃ Σφερχείῳ …… αὐτὰρ ἐπικλησιν Βορὺς, i.e. she called him son of Borus beyond the title which he ought to have had, viz. son of Spercheus: = ‘really to Sp., nominally to Borus.’

ὀφθαλμῶν β.] Cf. κατακώστω, 102. 2. Xen. (Cyrop. VIII. 2. 10) says that Cyrus ‘acquired the king’s eyes and the king’s ears, as they are called, wholly and solely by the gifts and honours which he conferred on them: for to those who brought him news which it was seasonable for him to know he showed vast favour, and so caused many men to play the spy and eavesdropper (ἄτακτος καὶ διοπτρις) for the sake
1ος Άρτεμις έφεξε το τοιχωμαν τοις παιδιοις συμπαίξον, εώς αρτεμ-βαρές ταίς, ανδρως δοξίρω υν Μήδοις. ου γάρ δη ἐποίησε το προσταματή υπο τού Κύρου, ἐκείνεν αὐτῶν τῶν ἄλλων παιδας διαλαβεῖν. πειθομένους δὲ τῶν παιδῶν, ὁ Κύρος τῶν παιδα τρηκέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγεός· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε μετέθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐσωτερῶν παθῶν, μᾶλλον τι περιπεμφετει κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς τόλμην, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτίζετο τοῦ ὑπὸ Κύρου ἡ μτης, λέγων δὲ ὑπὸ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἢν τοῦτο τοῦνομα,) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου του Ἀστυάγεος παιδὸς. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμιβάρης ὄργη, ὡς εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ 5 τοῦ Ἀστυάγεα, καὶ ἀμα ἀγόμενος τῶν παιδῶν, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἐφη πεπονθεύαι, λέγων "Ω βασιλεὺ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δουλοῦ, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς, ὃς περιβρισμεθα," δεικνύ 115 τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἴθελων τιμωρήσαι τὸ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμιβάρεος εἰνεκα, μετεπέμπτε τὸν τε βουκόλο καὶ τὸν παιδᾶ. ἔτει τε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρου ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐφὶ "Σὺ δὴ, ἐὼν τούδε τοιοῦτον ἕωντος παῖς, ἑτολμησας τὸν τοῦτον παιδᾶ, ἕωντος πράτουν παρ' ἐμοί, αἰείκειν τοὐδὲ περιπρηστειν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὃς ὅς Κόσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα 3 τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκη. οἱ γὰρ μὲ ἐκ τῆς κόμης παιδὲς, τῶν καὶ ὃς ἢν, παιζόντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστησαντο βασιλέα·

of news, the bearing of which might be of service to the king." The Greeks generally seem to have understood the title to denote simply a courtier high in favour with the king. Aesch. Pers. 890; Ar. Ach. 91.

τὸ δὲ τινὶ κ.τ.λ.] This officer was called ἀγγελίαφρος (I. 31; III. 118. 3), or ἀγγελευτε (III. 34. 13). ὡς ἐκατερώτης. Sc. προστάσσον. Cf. 29. 1.

§ 3. οὐ γὰρ δὴ... αὐτῶν] See note, 24, 7.

διαλαβεῖν] 'To seize him hand and foot,' so as to divide him, as it were. Cf. διαλαβήνες ἔκερας καὶ τῶν πόδας, IV. 94. 3; τοῦτον δὲ-ςαν διὰ διαλαμὴς διελώτας τῆς νεως, with half his body through the port-hole, v. 33. 3.


μάλλον τι] More from the thought of the disgrace than the pain: virtually = μάλιστα.


οἱ γὰρ με] See 1. 4, and compare ἐν γὰρ σε τῇ νυκτί, vi. 69. 7; οἱ μὲ φίλοι προδίδοντας, Theogn. 575.
ΚΛΕΙΩ. 103

έδοκεν γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύτατος. οἱ μέν παῦν
ἀλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὕτως δὲ ἀνή-
κουστεῖ τε καὶ λόγον εἰχε οὐδένα, ἐς δὲ ἐλαβε τὴν δίκην.
ἐὶ ὁν δὴ τοὺδε εἰνεκα ἁξίος τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὧδε τοι πάρειμι.

116 Ταύτα λέγοντο τοῦ παῖδος, τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήκει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ δὲ τὸ χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἔδοκεν ἐς ἑωτυν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτήρι εἶναι. Ὁ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδός ἔδοκε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τοῦτοι ἐπὶ τριὰ χρόνων ἀφθονοι ἦν. μόγις δὲ δὴ 2 κοτε ἀνενεχθεὶς εἴπε, θελὼν ἐκπέμψαι τοῦ Ἀρτέμιδαρε, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίζῃ. "Ἀρτέμιδαρε, ἐγὼ 3 ταῦτα ποιήσω, ὡστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπι-
μέμφεσθαι." Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτέμιδαρε πέμπει τὸν δὲ Κύρων 4 ἕγον ἐσῳ οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντο τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ 5 δὲ ὑπελέεσπο τὸ βουκόλος μοῦνον, μουνθέντα τάδε αὐτὸν εἰρέτο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόδειν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τὶς εἰς ὁ παραδός; ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωτυν τε ἐφ' ἑγονενεῖ, καὶ τὴν τεκούσαν αὐτὸν ἐτι εἶναι παρ' ἑωτυν. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ 6 βουλεύεσθαι ἐφ', ἐπιθυμεύοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικυν-

§ 4. [58] 'And so at last.' See 158. 3, note.

§ 5[8] So three MSS. Cf. III. 8. If δὲ be adopted, it prob. should have a local signification: cf. παρέπαινα ἐς κοίτων (9, 4), ἐπὶ δεῖκτων (118. 3).

CH. 116. § 1. Ἐλευθερωτήρι] Supply ἢ κατὰ δυσολο ταῖδα. Bähr (and ed.) adopts the correction Ἐλευ-

§ 2. δὴ κοτὲ] 'At last.' This meaning seems to be derived from such phrases as τί (δὴ) ποτὲ; πῶς (δὴ) ποτὲς; quid tandem? The in-
definiteness of ποτὲ implies a feeling of impatience, and this feeling of impatience is most strongly mani-
fested at the moment when the delay is terminated. So we have ἐκκα-
lυστε νῦν ποθ' (now at last) ἢμιν οἰστοῖς λέγεις λόγους, Eur. Iph. A. 872; εἰσχτει οὑλομένων νοῦν διαν-
tήσας ποτὲ οἴκων ἑδεῖ, Pind. Pyth.

§ 4. 522.

§ 5. μουνθέντα τάδε] This is the reading of most MSS. (Bähr), and μουνθέντα is used in the same sense, VI. 75. 3. Krüg. and Ab. prefer μουνθὲν τάδε (so one MS.), comparing οἴδηθεν οἴς, Hom. II. vll.

39. But Stein's argument is prob.

§ 6. ἐπιθυμοῦνα] Used ironically: 'it was clear he wished.'

διάγκας] 'Angustias' Schw. Be-

Below τὰς διάγκας is used of the actual instrument of torture, as is implied
by ἀγώμενος (sc. ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων). St. compares ἀνάγκαις ταῖς ἐνενευμαί τάλας, Aesch. Prom. 108.
§ 8. κατεβαίνει Not to be compared with 'preces descendere in omnes,' Virg. Aen. v. 782. See note, 90. 5. We have the construction with ἐστὶ, III. 75. 2, elsewhere the participle,—here both.

Ch. 117. § 1. ἦδη] This refers to τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐκφύγαντο. The simultaneous occurrence of the two almost always implies a notion of cause and effect (cf. 207. 5). So Aristot. uses ἦδη in the sense of ἐπὶ ἡμέρα: Eth. vi. (9) 3, ὥστε τῇ ἦδη πᾶν οὐ δόξα λογίν, 'that which is the subject of an opinion has been already decided,' i.e. by the mere fact that an opinion has been formed on it. Translate: 'no longer made so much account of him' (as of HARPAGUS).

καὶ μεγάλως] Cf. καὶ τὸ κάρσα, 71. 2; καὶ τὸ παράστασ, 75. 6; καὶ πάγχυ, vi. 112. 2. These may be explained by supposing καὶ to couple the verbal notion to the verbal notion + the adverb:—'blamed, ay and greatly blamed:' or by supposing a reference to some standard:—'not merely a little, but also (even) greatly.' καὶ thus merely emphasizes. So with numerals, καὶ πτετακισχιλιῶν, = 'quite as much as,' 194. 5; with comparatives, καὶ μάλλον τι, 'not merely as much as, but) even more than,' 98. 7 (cf. καὶ ἐλάσσων, above); καὶ ἀμφότεροι, 'both (not merely one), 74. 4; καὶ πάλαι, 'not merely of late, but) long ago,' 127. 1.

§ 2. ποιητοῦ] Prob. the future indicative, since the 1st aor. subj. is rarely used after δεῖν, in order to avoid confusion (Mad. G. S. 123. r. 1). By thus repeating as it were almost the exact words of his deliberation, the speaker puts prominently forward as his direct and principal motive the performance at any cost of the king’s commands, while the avoidance of the guilt of homicide, a more selfish end, is by the use of the opt. (ἐφη) represented as a more remote object at the time of action.

αὐθέντης] 'Slayer of kindred.' The use of αὐθέντης instead of φο-
καὶ λέγων πρόσω, ἵνα ἐπεχθήση, ἀπειλήσασθαι παντοῦ ταῦτα, ἵνα μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δέ, ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον τὰ κελεύματα, ἐπειδῆτες τὸ παιδιόν, τέμπησα τῶν εὐνοικῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ εἴδον δὲ ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ἐθαφά μην. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὁ βασιλεὺς, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου καὶ τοιούτου μόρφο ἔχρησάτο ὁ πάις."

118 "Ἀρταγός μὲν δὴ τῶν ἱδίων ἐφαίνει λόγον. Ἀστυνάγης δὲ ἑκρύπτεις τὸν οὐ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατάπερ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν βουκόλον τὸ πρῆγμα, πᾶλιν ἀπεγέρτο τῷ Ἀρτάγορῳ μετὰ δὲ, ὅσοι ὁ ἐπαλληλήγητο, κατέβαινε λέγον, ὅσο περίστι τε ο πάις, καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς. "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ, ἐφῄ λέγων, ἐς τὸν παῖδα ἑνὸς implies a reference to the relationship between Harpagus and Cyrus (108. 5; 109. 3). So αἰθ. διαμοσ φόνος, Aesch. Eum. 212: of the murder of a blood-relation. Compare the use of αὐτοκτονος, αὐτοκτownou, by the dramatists.

§ 3. φάς σε τε. 'For se τε φάς, cf. νῦν, ἐφῇ τε ὕπνω τε, ἐφῇ, 125. 3.' Kr. On this view τε either belongs to the whole sentence, and is irregularly answered by καλέσωσιν (Bähr), or (possibly) couples φάς to καλέσας. From a comparison of 110. 5, we should have expected a second clause, καὶ σε διαχρίσεσθαι εἰπεῖς αὐτῶν ἰδεῖρο τῷ καλῶς ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτῷ, and Stein's explanation is that Harpagus had meant to add something of the kind, when he remembered that these threats, uttered as coming from the king, were untrue. But this is to attribute too much elaborateness and dramatic by-play to Hdt.'s speeches.


κατὰ τὰδε] either anticipates ἐνείχε of 'in the following way viz.'—cf. κατὰ τῶν διερθήσεως (= οὕτως), VI. 44. 5— or (more prob.) = 'in accordance with these commands.' Cf. ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα, below.

CH. 118. § 1. ἐνείχε] All the MSS. read ἐνείχε, which would imply a form ἐνεχέω. Similarly some MSS. have συμβαλλόμενοι, 56. 4; ὑπερβαλλόμενα, 111. 76. 3; ἐσωτερικό, v. 81. 3. But no other instance of ἐνεχέω occurs in Hdt. (Kr.). ἐνείχε = ἐνδο δεικτε. St.

§ 2. ἐφῄ λέγων] The second word is not altogether redundant, since the phrase is never used, except where some part of the speech has been already quoted (ἅπεγ γᾶς, 122. 2, is different). Translate therefore 'went on to say.' Here there is a special point in the expression, because κατέβαινε (above) would naturally have implied the conclusion of the speech (90. 5, n.). Generally ἐφῄ λέγων implies a transition from oratio obliqua to recta: cf. however II. 172. 6.
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119 "Αρπαγός μὲν, ὥσ τίκουσε ταύτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τῇ ἀμαρτάς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τίχοις χρηστήσει ἐπὶ δείπνων κέκλητο, ἥν ἐς τὰ ὀικία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τῇ ταχιστῇ, ἥν γὰρ οἱ παῖς ἔσεσεν, ἔτεαι τρία καὶ δεκά κοι μᾶλιστα γεγονός, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπετε, ἱέναι τε κελεύων ἐς 'Αστυνάγειος καὶ ποιεῖν τῇ ἐν ἅκεῖν κελεύη. αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆς εἶναν φράζει τῇ γυναικί τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. 'Αστυνάγης δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ 'Αρπαγός παῖς, σφάζοις αὐτὸν, καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελθότα, τὰ μὲν ὀπτῆσε, τὰ δὲ ἔφησε τῶν κρεων, εὐτυκτὰ δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, τῆς ὁρᾶς γυμνότης τοῦ δείπνου, παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ 'Αρπαγός, τούτι μὲν ἀλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ 'Αστυνάγης παρετιθέατο τράπεζα ἐπιπλέαρι μηλείων κρεών, ὁ 'Αρπάγω δέ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἐωτοῦ, πλην κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τάλλα πάντα· ταύτα δὲ χωρίς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέρα κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ 'Αρπάγω ἑδόκεε ἄλλος ἕχειν τῆς βορῆς, 'Αστυνάγης ἐφετὸ μὴν, εἰ ἦσθεν τῇ τῇ βοῦῃ φαμένου δὲ τῷ 'Αρπάγῳ καὶ κάρτα ἠσθήναι, παρέφερον, τοῦς προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας. 'Αρπαγὸ δὲ ἐκζεύνου προστάτησ ἀποκαλύπτει τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος 6

§ 3. τοῦτο μὲν... τοῦτο δὲ] See 30. 8.

σῶστρα] Cf. ψυχῆς κόματρα, Aesch. Ag. 905.

CH. 119. § 1. ἐς δέον κ.τ.λ.] 'Had served his turn well (186. 2), and that good luck would follow his being bidden to the banquet.'

§ 2. περιχαρῆς κ.τ.λ.] Compare the story of Haman, Esther, v. 9—12.

§ 4. ἄκρων] χειρ and πούς often = leg and arm. Cf. ἀποσαμώντα ἐν τῷ ὀμό τὴν χείρα, Π. 121. 30; ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἑλυτο διαμπερές ἐς πόδας ἄκρους, Hom. Π. xvi. 640; νῦζε δὲ μιᾷ κατά χειρά μέσης, ἄγκυρος ἐνερ-θει, Π. XI. 253.

§ 5. ἑορτή] denotes a grand banquet, and so increases the irony of the question. Cf. IX. 82. 3, where it is used of the Persian and Spartan dinners served up to Pausanias after the battle of Plataea.

καὶ κάρτα] 'Aye, very much:'

117. 1, n. προσέκειτο] = προσέτεκτο.

προστάτιος] 86. 3, n.
δὲ ὁ "Ἀρπαγός, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων, ὅρᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα: ὅτως δὲ οὐτὸς ἐξεπλάγη, ἑντὸς τε ἐνυτοῦ γίνεται. εἰρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ 'Αστυνάγης, εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεν θηρίον κρέας βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἐφή, καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἄνω βασιλεὺς ἔρθη. τούτοις δὲ ἀμείοψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεών, ἴσας ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνεβεύτεν δὲ ἐμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεών, ἀλλὰς θάφειν τὰ πάντα.

120 Ἀρπάγης μὲν ὁ 'Αστυνάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρουν δὲ περὶ βουλευόν ἐκάλεσ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνυπνόν οἱ ταύτη ἐκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἰρετο ὁ 'Αστυνάγης, τῷ ἐκριναν οἱ τὴν ὤψιν οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἐλπαν, λέγοντες οὐς βασιλεύσαι χρὴν τὸν πάιδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. 'Ο δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τούτοις "Εστι 2 τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίστην καὶ μιν ἐπὶ ἄγρυν διατόμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης παιδές ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα, ὡσα περὶ 3 οἱ ἀληθῶς λόγω βασιλεῖς, ἐτελέσας πονήσας. καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρώρους καὶ ἄγγελη ψάρεύες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἴχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τῇ ὄμην ταύτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" Ἐλπαν οἱ μάγοι. "Εἰ μὲν περίστε τε καὶ ἐβασιλεύσε ὁ παῖς 4

§ 6. ἐνυτοῦ τε ἑωτοῦ] 'Contained himself,' 'refrained himself.' For οὐτοῦ...τε, cf. 63. 3.
§ 7. βασιλεῖς] Not 'a king,' but 'the king.' βασιλεῖς without the article was the common expression for the king of Persia after the Persian war: cf. 188. 2; 192. 3; VII. 138. 1; 146. 2; 174. 1: and Hdt. writing after the war seems to apply the same phrase to the earlier kings. So of the king of Egypt, II. 162. 5.
ἐμελλε] 'Would naturally.' μελλω often introduces an a priori argument, i.e. an inference not actually warranted by experience. Cf. II. 150. 7. n.
CH. 120. § 1. δικην ταυτην] 'This as a penalty.' The art. is omitted because δικην is pred. Cf. II. 116. 1.
ταυτη] In the way described above, 108. 4. Cf. ουτο, II. 1.
χρην] Cf. 8. 3.
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μὴ ἐκ προνοιῆς τινὸς, θάρσει τοῦτον εἶνεκα καὶ θυμῶν ἔχε ἀγαθῶν· οὐ γάρ ἐστὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἁρξεῖ. παρὰ σμικρά γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίαν ἦμιν ἐναι κεχώρηκε καὶ τὰ γε τῶν οὐνεράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐσ ἀσθενεῖς ἔρχεται." Ἁμεῖβεται Ἀστυάγης 5 τοῦτος ὡς "Καὶ αὐτὸς, ὁ μάγοι, ταύτη πλείστος γυνώμην εἰμι, βασιλεύς οὖνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδός, ἔξηκεν τε τὸν ὄνειρον, καὶ μοι τὸν παιδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν οὔδὲν ἔτι. ἦμος μὲν 6 γε τοῦ συμβουλεύσατε μοι, εὖ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει ἄσφαλέστατα εἶναι ὁμο ὑπὲρ ἐμὸ καὶ ὑμῖν." Ἐκεῖνον πρὸς 7 τεύττα οἱ μάγοι Ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦμιν περὶ τολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἄρχειν τὴν σῆν. κεινῶς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλατρωτοῖς, ἐς τὸν παιδα τοῦτον περιούσα, ἐντα Πέρσην καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐόντας Μήδοι, δουλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐδένος γυνώμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεινοῖς σέο δ' ἐνεστείωτος βασιλεύς, ἐόντος πολιτείων, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος, καὶ τιμᾶς πρὸς σέο μεγαλαῖς ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὁν πάντως ἦμιν σέο τε καὶ τῆς σῆς ἁρχῆς προσπέτεον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ὄρεμαν, 9 πάν ἀν σοι προεφάρκαμεν νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαμοτο τοῦ ἐνυπνιόν

§ 4. παρὰ σμικρᾶ· 'παρὰ here simply = πρὸς or ἐσ. Cf. ἐς ἄσθενες below." Bähr. But Krüg. points out that παρὰ in this sense is only used with persons, and that here consequently there must be a notion of comparison involved. Translate ' turn out as of little moment.'

τὸ...τῶν ὅν. ἔτι.] 'All that has to do with dreams,' a phrase which merely implies that the whole of the class is intended. Cf. 193. 6; II. 77-8. We should have expected ἡνα to have been repeated in this clause as well.

τελέως] Schw., as if with ἄσθενες, 'to an utterly weak accomplishment.' But this loses the connection with τελέω. It seems here to mean either (1) in the end, at last, or (2) up to the end, first and last. Cf. Aesch. Εἴσοδ. 320, ταραγονεύομαι πράκτορες αἰματος | αἰν ὁ τελέως ἐφάνημεν, where τελέω acc. to one view = suspicat ad finem, non desidentes, acc. to another refers to χεῖρας φωνας ἐπικρύπτει (v. 317), and = at last.

§ 6. μὲν γε τοι.] The order may be explained by the fact that both γε and μέντοι 'severally claim the second place in the sentence' (see Madv. G. S. 254). Thus we have ἦμος γε μέντοι, Αρ. Καπ. 61, but οὐ μέντοι γε, Plat. Rep. 329 E. Here the place is divided between the two, since μέντοι has hardly become one word in Hdt.'s time, and μὲν takes precedence of γε, as at IV. 48. 3.

§ 7. καλώς = μὴ κατορθομεν. Μηδοι Ch. 101.

[καλώς] = foreigners. Cf. 65. 3, note. The word seems a strong one to use here, but prob. refers to the fact that the Magian and the Persian religions were distinct. The apprehensions of the Magi were justified by the Magophonia (see III. 79).


τὸ μέρος] 'Our fair share!' cf. II. 173. 6.
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εἰς φλαίρον, αὐτοῖ τε ἑπαρσέμεν καὶ σοι ἑτέρα τοιαύτα παρακελεύομεθα: τὸν δὲ παῖδα τούτον εἰς ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτελεῖαι
122 ἔς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γενιμένους.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυναγής ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε: ὁ
"Ω μαί, σε γὰρ ἔγνω δὲ δῆλοις ὁνεῖρον οὐ τελένη ἡδικεύετο, τῇ
σεωτοῦ δὲ μοῖρῃ περείχεν γὰρ ὃν ἦθι χαῖρον ἐς Πέρσας,
τομπούς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ
μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτράδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλου καὶ
τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ.”

122 Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυναγής, ἀποπέμπεις τὸν Κύρον. νοστή-
σαντα δὲ μιν ἐς τοὺς Καμβύσεως τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γενιμένοι
καὶ δεξάμενοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλους ἀσπάζοντο, ὃς
δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τὸτε τελευτῆσαν ἱστόρεον τὸ ὅτερ
τρόπῳ περιγένεστο. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φᾶς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ
εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ’ ὅδον δὲ πυθόθαι
πᾶσαν τὴν ἑσωτερικήν πάθην. ἐπιστάσασα μὲν γὰρ, ὡς βου-
κόλου τοῦ Ἀστυναγοῦς εἰς παῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς κείθειν ὅδοι τὸν
πάντα λόγον τῶν τομπῶν πυθόθαι. τραφήναι δὲ ἔλεγε
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικὸς. ηὲ τε ταῦτην αἰνέων διὰ
παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνοί. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς

§ 9. Ταῦτα τοιαύτα] i.e. ἀφοσίαν. Cf. 207. 3.

Ch. 121. ἄκα] For ἐκείνο. So often in Hdt.

κατὰ] Cf. 98. 8; Plat. Ἀριστ. 1, ὁμολογούν ἂν ἦγεν γε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς
eιπτῆρι, 'not an orator of their

sort.'

Ch. 122. § 1. ἐπιστάμενοι] 'Feeling sure.' Used, like ἐπι-
στάσθηκα, below, of inaccurate know-
lledge: virtually = δοξάζων. Cf. ἐπι-
στάσθαι ἐπέστη, VIII. 132. 3.

§ 2. ἔλεγεν φᾶς] 'Told them
(how he had escaped) adding.' V.
50. 2, χρεόν γὰρ μὲν μὴ λέγεις τὸ ἔνω,
λέγει δὲ ὅν (sc. τὸ ἔνω) τριῶν μηνῶν
φῶς εἶναι τὴν ἀνοδον.

§ 3. ἡ...αἰνέων] From the
analogy of ἐρχομαι ἐτέρω (§ 5); ἐρ-
χομαι φάρασον (194. 1); ἡμι λέξων,
IV. 82. 3 Stein concludes that
αἰνέων here is the fut. part., compar-
ing the use of αἰπέει in a future
sense, V. 43. 2; VI. 82. 3. But
there clearly is a reason for the
use of the future, where Hdt. is
using the phrase about his own in-
tentions, which does not exist in the
present passage. Thus τῶν κατ’
ἀρχάς ἡμι λέξων λόγον (IV. 82. 3; V.
62. 1) = the story which I was
going to tell originally (before the
digression), whereas ἡ...αἰνέων here must
mean 'he continually went about
praising,' not 'he was going about
to praise.'

τά ταῦτα] 'Omne sermonum ar-
gumentum erat ei Cyno' Herm. (ad
Viger. 95), i.e. he could talk of
nothing else. Without the article
the meaning would be different; e.g.
in the phrase τά ταῦτα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖς
Βαστυλακίων Σίωπυρος (III. 157. 6)
tάτα is merely a rhetorical superla-
tive, = Z. was a great man. Thus
if we were to read πάντα in the present passage, the meaning would become 'verbis (non item animo) carissima erat Cyno.' **Herm.**

**θεοτέρως** So μετάνως, II. 49. 3; ἐνδειστέρως, Plat. Phaed. 74. 3; μείζων, Soph. O. C. 104; βελτιώνως, Plat. Rep. 484; ἐχθιώνω, Xen. *Syrp.* IV. 3.

κατ[βαλλ]ον 'Spread abroad:' prob. a metaphor from sowing seed.


**προσέκειντο** Abicht takes this with the part., 'sent gift upon gift,' προσκεέθαι τινών τι meaning 'to do a thing urgently' (cf. Thuc. viii. 52, θεραπεύων προσέκειτο). But in the other passages in which the word is used by Hdt. (see Schw. *Lex.*) it seems to have aiative depending directly on it. Translate therefore: 'sought to cleave to Cyrus.'

§ 2. *ἐπιτρεφομένων* ἐπι- = growing up as a successor to Astyages. Cf. *ἐπιτραφέντων*, II. 121. 4; *ἐπι-γενομένων*, II. 49. 3.

§ 3. πρὸς δὲ ἐτι τούτου] So πρὸς ἐτι τοῦτο, 64. 2; ἐς ἐτι τοῦ, διτε, Hom. II. ix. 106.

§ 4. τούτου] = τοῦτων (sc. τῶν Μήδων). Cf. ἐτόμον τοῦ γε ἑκάτερον ἐντός, 124. 7; 97. 1, note. For the passive sense of κατεγρ. (= work upon, persuade), cf. 207. 8, n.

**φυλασσομένων** Compare the description of the 'royal' road from Sardis to Susa (v. 52), where φυλακτήρα is mentioned at the bridges and passes. Hdt. is talking as if these existed in the days of Astyages. Cf. 188. 2, n.


οἷς δὲ εἴχε] As if écaras had been added (Kr.), δὲ introducing an opposition to οἴδεν.

§ 5. *ἄπορράφασα* ἄπω- = 'back again,' as in ἄπωδόναι.
κλειω.

—124. 7] Κλειω. ΙΙΙ

ράγιας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ δίκτυα δοῦς, ἀτε
θηρευτῇ, τῶν οἰκετέων τὸ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπεστείλῃ ἐς τοὺς
Πέρσας, ἐνετελάμενοι οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν
Κύρῳ ἑπειστείν, αὐτοχειρὶ μὲν διελεῖν, καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα
124 ποιεῖντι παρείναι. Ταύτα δὲ δὴ ὃν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο· καὶ ὁ
Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχυσε. εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ
tὸ βιβλίον ἐνεών, λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγεν
τάδε· "Ὡς ταῖ Καμβύσεω, σε γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπίκευν· οὐ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν 3
σεωτοῦ φονεά τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τοῦτον προθυμίην
τέθηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περεῖς. τὰ σε καὶ 4
πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθήκεναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς
ἐπηρήχθη, καὶ οἰα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος τέποιθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ
ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. οὐ νῦν ἂν βοῦλῃ ἐμοὶ 5
πείθεσθαι, τόπερ Ἀστυάγης ἁρχεῖ χόρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης
ἀρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείςας ἀπίστασθαι, στρατηλάτες 6
ἐπὶ Μήδων· καὶ ἂν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχὸ
στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἐτι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἂν τε τῶν τις
δοκίμων ἅλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ ὅσοι ἀποστάτες ἀπ' 7
ἐκείνου, καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, Ἀστυάγεα καταρέειν πει-
ρίσουται ὡς ὃν ἐτοιμὸν τοῦ γε ἐνβάδε ἐόντος, ποιεῖ ταύτα,
καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τάχος."

ἀπὸ γλώσσης] With ἐπείτειν. Cf. ὁς ἀπὸ ἀμβῶν, 'to judge by the
eye,' Soph. O. C. 15.

Ch. 124. § 1. ἕπελέγετο] 'Read,' lit. 'pondered over' the meaning
contained in the characters. So the
Attic ἀναγιγνώσκω lit. denotes the
'rereading' of the writer's meaning
(St.).

§ 2. σὺ γὰρ] γὰρ gives a reason
for τίσαι. See 8. 2. n.

§ 3. σὺ νῦν] Krüg. reads νῦν,
comparing the common use of ὑπὸ
after the anticipatory γὰρ (cf. δὴ,
129. 3. n.). But (1) we constantly
find the anticipated clause introduced
without any resuming particle,
(2) where ὑπὸ is used, we frequently
have νῦν as well (30. 5; 121. 1), and
(3) there is force in νῦν, = now is
the time of vengeance (123, 1—3)
for deeds of which you have long
ago heard (καὶ πάλαι). The occurrence
of σὺ νῦν below, § 5 (Bähr
reads νῦν there as well), does not
prove that νῦν is wrong here.

φονεά] Cf. 45. 4.

τὸ δὲ] 'The expression originates
in the omission of a sentence merely
intimated by τὸ (e.g. τὸ ὑπὸ ἔχει),'
Madv. (G. S. 118. r. 7). So far as
Hdt. is concerned, compare (1) the
use of τοῦτο μὲ—τοῦτο δὲ (30. 8),
(2) the pleonastic use of the personal
pronoun with δὲ (107. 4). Cf. vii.
158. 2, τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑμᾶς, τάδρα ἄκα
ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἥμεται, 'si per vos
stetisset, haec omnia in barbarorum
forent potestate' (Schw.).

§ 7. πρὸς σὲο] Cf. 75. 2.
125 Ἐκούσας ταύτα ὁ Κύρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτε φροντίζων δε εὐρισκε τα ταύτα καιρώτατα εἶναι καὶ ἐποίησε δὴ ταύτα γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβοῦλετο, ἀλήν τῶν Περσῶν ἐποιήσατο μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἐφῇ 'Ἀστυνάγει μν στρατηγῶν Περσῶν ἀποδεικνύει. "Νῦν," ἐφῇ τε 3 λέγου, "ὁ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ύμῖν, παρείναι ἕκαστον ἔχουτα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταύτα προηγόρευε. "Εστι 4 δὲ Περσῶν συχνὰ γένεα καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλυε, καὶ ἀνέπεισε αὐτόστασιν ἀπὸ Μῆδῶν, ἐστὶ δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὅν ὅλου πάντες ἁρτέαται Πέρσαι Πασαργάδαι, Μαρὰθιοι, Μάσπιοι, τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἁριστοὶ ἐν τοῖς καὶ 5 Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρίτηρ, ἐνθεὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσείδαι γεγόνασι. ἂν, ὅλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἶδε Παντιάλαιοι, Δηροῦσιαι, Γερμάνιοι οὕτω μὲν πάντες ἁρωτήρες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ 126 ὅλου νομάδες: Δαίοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοὶ, Σαγάρτιοι. Ὡς δὲ παρήσαν ἀπάντητε ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα δ

§ 3. ἐφῇ τε λέγων] See note, Κ. Θ. Σ. 118, 2. το prob. is part of what Cyrus says: 'and now.' Cf. τέλεια τοῖς, 37, 3; καὶ τάδε, 120, 3.
§ 4. γένεα] Below, § 5, we have a φρίτηρ mentioned as a subdivision of the γένος. Hence Hdt. is not using these terms in the exact sense in which they were applied at Athens, where the γένος (genus) was a subdivision of the φάραλια (curia), and this latter a subdivision of the φυλή (tribus). In the present passage γένεα may be translated 'clans,' and φρίτηρ 'family.'
τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν] Opposed to ὅλου δὲ, § 6. τὰ here is prob. the relative, and its antecedent τάδε is introduced by the apodotic δὲ (112, 3, n.). Later writers mention a town Pāsargādās (214, 6, n.).
§ 5. ἁριστοῦ] 'Graecorum more, qui genere praestantes et nobiles optimates sic appellare solebant;' Bähr. More prob. here it simply = 'bravest,' as often in Hdt. The three clans first mentioned would seem to be the warrior-class (as opposed to the ἄρτορες and νομάδες below), and of these the Pasargadai are the bravest. For the Achaemenidae, see III. 65, 10; VII. 11, 3. Compare the words of Darius on the Behistun Inscription (Sir H. Rawlinson's trans., col. 1):—'On that account (owing to our descent from Achaemenes) we have been called Achaemenians; from antiquity we have descended (!); from antiquity our family have been kings.' (Behistun is on the western frontier of ancient Media. The inscription is engraved at a height of 300 feet from the base of a precipitous rock. It is trilingual (in ancient Persian, Babylonian, and a Tatar dialect). and is thought to have been executed in the 5th year of Darius, B. C. 516. Rawlinson.)
Περσεῖς] i.e. descendants of Perses, the son of Perseus (VII. 61, 4).
Κύρος (ὅν γάρ τις κύρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκαμβώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἦ εἰκοσι πάντη) τούτοι σφι τὸν κύρον προεύπε ἐξημερώσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν 2 Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀθέλων, δεύτερα σφι προεύπε, ἐς τὴν ὑπεραίην παρείναι λειμομένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε 3 αἰτόλια καὶ τὰς πολιμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τῶντο, ἐθελ καὶ παρεσκευάζε ὅσ δεξομένοις τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οὖν τὲ καὶ συτίσιοι ὅσ ἐπιτηδειτάτωσι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑπεραίῃ τούς 4 Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχει. ἐπεῖ τε δὲ ἀπὰ δεῖπνον ἦσαν, εἰρετὸ σφεας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνχω, ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἰὴ αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν, 5 πολλῶν ἐναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. τὴν μὲν γάρ προτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ πάντα σφι κακὰ ἐχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεόντας πάντα ὁ ἄγαθα. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων "Ἀνδρεῖς Πέρσαι, οὐτώ ύμῖν ἐχειν. βουλομένους μὲν ἐμὲ πεθεσθαι, ἐστὶ τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρὰ ἄγαθα, οὐδὲν πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουν· μὴ βουλομένους δὲ ἐμὲ πεθεσθαι, εἰσὶ ύμῖν πόνοι τῷ χιίζῳ παραπλήσιοι ἀμαθίμητοι. νῦν ἃν ἐμὲ πεθέμενοι, γίνεσθε ἑλεύθεροι. αὕτως τε γὰρ δοκῶσ θεὶς τύχῃ γεγονός τάδε ἐσ

Ch. 126. § 1. ἔσον τε] See 14. 8. n. Hom. Od. x. 517, βδόμον ὀρφεί βδόμον τε πυγώσιον ἐνθα καλέων. πάντη] i. e. the tract to be cleared was square-shaped.

§ 3. θευ] Simply = 'slew' without any notion of a sacrifice or burnt offering. Cf. 216. 3.

οὐφ τε] Sc. δεξομένους, as if τοῦτοι had been added above.

§ 5. πολλῶν ἐναι κ.τ.λ.] ix. 82. 3. Cf. Eur. Alk. 914, πολὺ γαρ τὸ μέσον, followed by τὸτε μὲν —νῦν δὲ.

σφι.] Krüg. reads σφείς. But ἡμέρῃ is the subj. of ἐχειν and not the accus. of duration. Compare τολλὰ πράγματα ἐχειν τῷ. The old explanation was that ἐχειν = παρέχειν. But 'in his locutionibus ἐχειν retinet suam vim, sic ut notet conjunctum quid cum quo esse. Nullo enim modo fieri potest ut ἐχειν idem sit atque παρέχειν.' Herm. ad Viger. 184. Cf. παρέχοντες—ἐχοντες, 155. 1. Translate: 'yesterday contained nothing but evil, as they had found (σφι); to day nothing f but good.'

§ 6. παρεγύμνου] παρ— (= 'side- ways') implies caution and reserve. Cf. ἐς τοῦτο παρεγύμνου, VIII. 19. 2. So παραδηλοῦν, oblique significare, to insinuate without actually stating; παραδίναι, to enter side- ways, to slip in.

ἐμό] The gen. on the analogy of αἰκονίων, 'to obey.' 108. 6, n.

§ 7. θεία τύχῃ] Either in a general sense, 'providentially' (II. 2, n.), or more prob. with γεγονός specially, referring to the popular belief about his birth (θεωρέως, 122. 3).
χείρας ἁγεσθαι καὶ ὑμέας ἤγημαι ἄνδρας Μηδών εἶναι οὐ
φαντότεροι, οὔτε τάλαλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. οὐς οὖν ἔχοντων
ἀδὲ, ἀπίσταις ἀπ’ Ἀστυνάγεος τὴν ταχιστὴν.”

127 Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἀσμένοι ἐλευ-
θεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μηδών ἀρχεσθαι. Ἄστυ

άγης δὲ ὡς ἐπίθετο Κύρου πρῆσοντας ταῦτα, πέμψας ἄγγελον,
ἐκάλεσε αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευς τῶν ἄγγελου ἀπαγγέλειν,
ὅτι πρὸ τὴν ἤξιον παρ’ ἐκείνου ἡ αὐτὸς Ἀστυνά-

άγης θυσίασθαι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυνάγης Μηδῶν 3
τε ὀπλιστε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὅστε θεοβλαβῆς
ἐὼν ἀπέδεξε Ἀρπαγοὺς, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μὲν ἔργα.

128 δ’ οἱ Μηδοὶ στρατευσάμενοι τούτοι Πέρσαι συνέμισσον, οἱ
μὲν τίνες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὡσοι μή τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ
δὲ αὐτούς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεοι

εἶχαν [ἐχαν impers., as at § 6.
τὴν ταχιστὴν] 24. 5.
Ch. 127. § 1. καὶ πᾶλαι] 117.

1, n.
§ 3. ὡς] 8. 2, n.
θεοβλαβῆς] ’Quem deus vult
perdere prius dementat.’
τὸ] = τοῦτῳ τὸν.
§ 4. ὡς] μὴ] ‘Those who had not

χαρῆσαι, ὥστε σχέδον ἐγχευς ἐθη
(St.).

§ 2. τοσαῦτα] ‘No more than
this.’ Krurg.
τοῦτος] simply repeats the subst.
ἀνεκολοθοῦσα] ἀνα-, as in ἀνα-
σταρφῶν, implies that the body was
raised from the ground.

Ch. 129. § 1. προστάς] 86.
3, note.
Λέγων...ἐκτεθ.] 8. 2; 85. 2, note.

τὸ] = referring to, or ‘as compared with.’ Harpagus put the
question so as to point out that Astyages’ misfortunes were the result of that banquet. Compare the question of Leotychides to Demaratus (VI. 67. 2) δικόντι τε εἶναι παρακείμενον μετὰ τοῦ λαμπροῦ. Krtg. suggests μεκινών instead of μεκινῶν, but the latter brings out the antithesis to ἐπιταυτο, above: ‘what he thought of his bonds, after being a king.’

§ 3. ἐπιταυτοῦ δὲ] Another reading is πρήγμα δη ἐπιταυτοῦ, which Bähr and Krtg. adopt, considering that δη resumes after γαρ (124. 3, note). The MS. authority is about equal (Gaisf.), but more force is gained by taking δη with ἐπιταυτο (‘his very own’): cf. ἐπιταυτοῦ γε, below.

§ 4. τοῦ λόγου] Cf. ἀπέφανον λόγῳ ώσιν ἀδύκουν, v. 84. 2; ἐδηλοῦσιν λόγῳ ώσιν εἰς, VIII. 61. 2; ἀποδεικνυταις λόγῳ, v. 94. 3. In these passages there is some doubt as to whether λόγῳ = oratione or ratione. Prob. the latter:—‘offered (imperf.) arguments to prove.’

δι δη] ‘if really,’ ‘if as he said.’

ἀπό...ἐπιταυτοῦ] These both refer to the subject of the dependent clause (Harpagus), but the former is used where there is no emphasis on the pronoun, the latter (as at § 2) where special emphasis is required. See 86. 6, n.


περιτείνα] This may possibly be a reference to the tiara, as the symbol of Persian sovereignty (so Stein: cf. II. 162. 1). But the expression also occurs, where this explanation will not serve: cf. III. 142. 5; Thuc. VI. 89. 2, ἐμοὶ ἀμφιφέρον περιτείναν, ‘crowned me with infamy.’

§ 6. τοῦτοι] sc. τοῦ δελτηνοῦ.

Cf. 180. § 1. πάρειν ἀντιοῦ] These words must = ‘if we do not reckon the 28 years of Scythian dominion’ (106. 1). But the form of expression leaves it doubtful whether Hdt. has already made the deduction, or whether he intends the reader to deduct the sum for himself. In the former case (translate ‘besides’) the 28 years will not be included in the 128, so that the whole duration of the Median hegemony will amount to 156 years: on the latter alternately (translate ‘with the exception of’) the duration of the hegemony will be 128 years, but of this amount Hdt. implies that 28 years, strictly speak-
ing, cannot be reckoned. The latter interpretation seems preferable, since Hdt. gen. places the qualifying words (πάρεξ, ἐξω, πάντα, χωρίς) early in the sentence where he has already made the deduction (see 164: 4; II. 77: 8; III. 91: 4, χωρίς τοῦ ἄρµατος προσφέρει ἑπτάκοσία τάξαντα); while he places them at the end of the sentence (as here) when he means to imply that the deduction has still to be made (see 94: 1; II. 111: 5; III. 67: 2, ὅτε πόθον ἐχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πάρεξ αὐτῶν τῶν Πέρσων). Stein. This interpretation however does not get rid of chronological difficulties, since the dominion of the Medes over upper Asia cannot properly be placed before the accession of Phraortes (102: 1), i.e. only 96 years before the defeat of Astyages. To obviate this difficulty, some editors have actually deducted the 28 from the 128 years, so as to make the amount 100 years, forgetting that whether the years of the Scythian dominion are counted as part of the Median hegemony or not, the point of time at which the latter begins would still be the same, viz. 128 years before the defeat of Astyages. See Clinton F. H. I. 257. Another difficulty as great as that mentioned above is the improbability that the reigns of four successive kings, each the son of his predecessor, would amount to 150 years. Compare II. 127: 1, note.

§ 2. Δαρείου] i.e. Darius Nothus (B.C. 408) acc. to Bähr, Dahlm., and Mure, who compare Xen. Hēll. i. 2: 19, καὶ ὃ ἐκαθότος ἠληρεύει οὕτως ἐν θαλάσση καὶ Μῆδοι αὐτὸν τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάνει πάλιν προσεχρήσαντας αὐτῷ. For the objections to this view, see Grote, H. G. III. 194 (iv. 304), n. On the other hand the passage can hardly refer to the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, as recorded by Hdt. (III. 61—79), since (1) we hear of no battle then, (2) ἀπὸ here could hardly be used of a time when Darius was not yet king. But in the Behistun Inscription (125: 5, n.) as deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson (col. II. 5—12) we have the following account of a revolt in the reign of Darius Hystaspes not elsewhere mentioned by Hdt. — ‘Says Darius the king— A man named Phraortes, a Mede, he rose up.’ To the state of Media thus he said: I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares. Then the Median troops who were at home revolted from me. They went over to that Phraortes: he became king of Media...... Then I went out from Babylon. I proceeded to Media. When I reached Media, there—that Phraortes, who (was) called king of Media, came with an army against me to do battle. There we fought a battle. Ormazd brought help to me. By the grace of Ormazd I entirely defeated the army of Phraortes.’ Rawlinson, App. Bk. III.
131 Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμισι τούσκε χρεωμένοις ἀγάλματα ὑμέν καὶ νησὶς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ρυθμοὺς ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσκε ποιεῖται μορφήν ἐπίφεροντι· ὡς μὲν ἐμι δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποφυίας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ 'Ελληνες, εἰναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Δᾶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ψηλὸτα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρθεν, τῶν κύκλων πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δᾶ καλέουσι θύσιν, δὲ ἡλίον τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἄνεμοι. τούτισοι δὲ μὲν ὅτι μοῖνοι θύσιν ἀρχηθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ θύειν, παρὰ τε 'Ασσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ 'Αραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ 'Ασσύρων τὴν 'Αφροδίτην Μύλττα, Ἀράβων δὲ 'Ἀλλτα, Πέρσας δὲ 'Μιτραν. Ἡσίας δὲ τοὺσ Πέρσας ἂν περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἱδὲ κατέστηκε, οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῖται, οὔτε τῷ ἀνακάλοσι, μελλόντες θύειν οὐ στοιχήματι.
χρέωνται, οὐκι αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκι αὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἔκαστῳ θύεων θέλει, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγών τὸ κτήμος, καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένον τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνα μάλιστα. ἔωτοῖς μὲν δὴ τῷ θύωντι ἱδίῃ μοῦνο οὐ εἰς ἐγγίνεται ἀράσθαι 3 ἀγαθὰ, ὃ δὲ πάσι τοιοῦ Πέρσην κατείχεται εὔ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ ἀπασί Πέρσην καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαμιστικῶς κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱερὸν ἔγνωση 4 τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιή ν ως ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὅν πάντα τὰ κρέα: διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστῶς ἐπαείδει θεογνηθεὶς, οἷν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιδείαν ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ μαγοῦ οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιεύεσθαι. ἐπιπχόν δὲ δὴ λέγον χρόνον, 5 ἀποφέρεται ὁ βύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χράται ὁ τι μιν ὁ λόγος

στέμμασι] Since (1) Hdt. uses ἐστεφανωμένος below, and (2) Xen. says Κύρος ἐστεφανωμένος θύει (Cyr. III. 3. 34), it has been proposed here to read στέμμασι (cf. αὐλὰς...στέμμα). But Bähr is right in retaining the old reading: 'Graecis suis scribethe non Graeco more sacra fieri a Persis.' Hdt. is tacitly contrasting the woolen chaplet on the bare head with the wreathed tiara. The Cyropaedia throughout is a romance of Greek life with the scene laid in Persia.

§ 2. τῶν δὲ] Sc. τῶν ἐλημ. ἑδώ. For the change from plur. to sing. (θέλει), cf. 195. 1. Bähr supplies a subject from the verb (ὁ ἰδὼν), comparing II. 47. 4. But this explanation will not suit all passages, e.g. I. 216. 3. But it must be supplied to γίνεται.


γίνεται] 'comes in.'

§ 4. ἐστι] This is not inconsistent with the words οὔτε τῷ ἀνακαλούντω, which are used with reference merely to the Greek cus-

tom of burning on the altar portions of the victim in honour of the god. So of the Scythian sacrifices, IV. 66. 2, οὔτε τῷ ἀνακαλούσας οὔτε καταφρονήσας...τρέπεται πρὸς ἐγγυνου (Wess.).

ἀν] Put after its proper place in order that it may come with the verb. Cf. 194. 6, note.

πάντα τὰ] The MSS. have πάντα κρέα, which would naturally = 'all kinds of flesh.' But is the insertion of τὰ (adopted by all editors) absolutely necessary, considering Hdt.'s archaism? Compare ἄφαρ δὲ ἐκ μηρα τάμουν | πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν (of the sacrifice of an ox), Hom. Od. III. 456, and see above, 21. 2, note.

μάγος ἀνήρ] The name Μάγος, which properly denoted a Median γένος (ch. 101), was also applied by the Greeks to the Persian priest-caste.

οἷν δὲ] gives the reason for the statement, ἐπαείδει θεογνηθεὶς:=τοιαυτὴν γάρ τινα. 'Forms of prayer of this character are frequently found in the Zend Avesta' (the sacred writings of the Parsees). Stein.

§ 5. λόγος] Agendi ratio (Schw.), almost = our 'motive' (not like ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, II. 33. 2). Cf. IV. 127. 3, ἢ μὴ ἡμᾶς λόγος αἰρῇ, unless the notion strikes us—the fancy takes
us. In this phrase and in the Homeric use of ὑμός (above 1. 5) we see the earliest attempts made by Greek thought to describe that within man which prompts him to action, and the influence of these expressions must have done much to determine the form which psychology subsequently took in Greek philosophy. Compare Plato's τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ νοοεῖν, Rep. 440.

CH. 183. § 2. τῶν ἄλλων] i.e. ἂν τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὁμοιότατον. Cf. III. 137. 4, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρης; (Kt.).

πρόβατα: πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα Ἡρόδων. Schol. ad. II. xiv. 124 (Wess.). But this is too wide, since the word does not include ὅποιος, 167. 2. Generally in Hdt. it may be rendered 'cattle.'

§ 3. σῖτων] 'Chief dishes.' St. More prob. it = 'plain food.' In either case it is opposed to ἐπιθυμίαι.

καὶ ὁποι ἄλλοι i.e. one dish after another (ἄλλος = ἄλλος). Bekker, who reads ἄλλος (or ἄλλοι) here, takes it to mean 'salt,' of which the Greeks were very fond at dessert, because it improved the flavour of the wine (see Charicles, § vi. Extr. 1). We have evidence that the Persians used salt (Bühr), but not that they took it at dessert. Notice the force of the compounded prepositions: προτερηταῖς refers to the pièce de résistance which is placed before the guests; the ἐπιθυμίαι are the additional courses or dessert; and as these do not come in all at once, they are said to be served as side dishes (παραφορηται: cf. παροφίς, παροφώσμα).

ἀπὸ δείκνυτον] After the regular dinner. Cf. II. 78.

§ 5. βουλευόμενοι] Tacitus says of the Germans: 'Questions of peace 'and war are canvassed during their carousals. They think that there is no time when the mind is more ready to throw itself open to ingenuous thoughts, or grow warm with grand ideas...When the sentiments of all have been laid bare, on the morrow the matter is handled anew. Each time has thus a sound reason for its adoption: they debate when they cannot hide their thoughts, they decide when they cannot make mistakes' (Germ. 22).

προτερητοὶ 107. 4, n.
Χ. 134. § 1. 'Εντυπχάνοντες
Nom. abs. Cf. II. 9. 2.
§ 3. μετά δε κ.τ.λ.] 'And so on—the further they go (from home) they esteem others proportionately (less).' λόγος here almost = 'ratio' in its mathematical sense. Cf. II. 109. 2. The phrase seems to have meant originally 'in conformity with a certain number or tale,' 'correspondingly equal in number or amount,' and so 'proportionately,' since proportion is an equality of ratios.
§ 4. τῶν λεγόμενον] 'That is now being stated.' See 9. 4, n.
§ 5. καλ ἡρξε] 'The nations (composing the Median empire) actually (καλ) ruled over each other in the following order, viz.—the Medes, while (μέν) lords of all, ruled especially (καλ) over those who dwelt nearest to them' &c. The first καλ brings out the fact that the scale of distance above mentioned applies not only to the esteem in which the different nations were held, but also to their actual dominion: the second καλ answers to συναπάντων μέν above (106. 3, n.), and marks the more important of the two facts stated about the Medes. Or else συνα-πάντων μέν Μ. stands for Μ. μέν συναπάντων, in which case μέν would be regularly followed by οὖντι δὲ. The system described is one of vassal-kingdoms, which probably re- mained unaltered till the introduction of satrapies by Darius (III. 89. 1).
καλ τῶν ὄμ. ] We should have expected αὖ instead of καλ (Κρ.). Prob. καλ is put with τῶν ὄμ. instead of with οὖντι, so that the passage = καλ οὖντι δὲ τῶν ὄμοιων.
μᾶλ] = deinceps, Bähr: cf. 181. 3, ἕτερος μᾶλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'another again upon this.' It has something of the same force in the phrase μᾶλ' αὖθις. Cf. II. 115. 5.
§ 6. προβαίνει γάρ] As the text
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

135 τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ἑξινικὰ δὲ νόμαια ἡ Πέρσαι προσέτανται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μη- δικήν ἐσθῆτα, νυμφαίας τῆς ἐσώτερος εἶναι καλλίω, φορέ- ουσί, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἄργυπτιονς θώρηκας. καὶ ἐντασεῖς τε παντοδαπῶς πυθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ, ἀπ' Ἐλλήνων μάθουσι, παιὰ μίσχουται. γαμένουσι 3 ᾧ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουρίδια γυναῖκας, πολλοὶ 136 δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίας δ' αὐτὴ 1 ἀποδεδείκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ὡς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέχθησαν τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδείκνυτι δῶρα ἐκτέμπει τὸ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἤγεται ἱσχυρῶν εἶναι. παυεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος 2 ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσάτεος, τρία μοῦνα, ἰππεύου καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεισθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέσθαι ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ γυναιξί·

stands it seems most natural to make τὸ ἔθνος refer to the Persians: 'for the (Persian) nation went on extending further and further from home its government and superintendence:' i.e. they esteem men acc. to distance, for they extended their empire to a distance. Though there is not much point in this, it seems better than to understand τὸ ἔθνος in a collective sense (=τὰ ἔθνη) with Abicht, or to refer it to the Medes with Stein. If τὸ ἔθνος is to be understood of the Medes, δὲ must be omitted after τῶν ἀνδρῶν and a comma placed at ἐξο- μένων, so as to make κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. refer back to ἧρχε, 'ruled over each other on the same principle on which the Persians esteem nations (i.e. acc. to position and distance): for the (Median) nation' &c. Notice the difference between ἄρχον and ἐπιτροπεύον. The former implies direct personal government, and would only be used of the nearer nations; the latter merely denotes indirect superintendence (through vassal-kings or ἐπιτροποι) and would be applied to the more distant countries.

CH. 185. § 1. τῆς θωρήκας] See 71. 3. Acc. to Xen. the Median dress was adopted by Cyrus because 'it concealed the form and showed off the beauty and stature of the wearer to the greatest advantage' (Cyr. VIII. 1. 40).

θωρήκας] See II. 181. 1.

CH. 186. § 1. μετὰ τὸ μ.] i.e. μετὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν μαχασθαι.
δὲ δὲν] explains αὐτή, (=ἐδώ τις) as if ἄνηρ ἀγαθὸς οὐτὸς had been written. Cf. II. 65. 7. St. quotes Hom. Π. xiv. 81, βέλτερον, δι' ἰθυ- γων προφήτη καθ' ἡ ἀλώγη. Thuc. is fond of this form of construction (Π. 44. 2: 62. 4; III. 45. 7; VI. 14, τὸ καλὸς ἀρξεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι, δὲ ἐν τὴν πατρίδα ὁμολόγησθαι).

τὸ πολλὸν] 'Number, they think, is strength.' Compare Pr. cxxvii. 5.

§ 2. πενταέτεος] Supply παιδὸς. Krüg. and Stein suppose a neut. subst., πενταρεῖς, = quinquennium, but Plat. Legg. 794 a, which the latter quotes, does not establish this. In Hom. the neut. forms (τρεῖς, &c.) are used, but only adverbially.
§ 4. ΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΟΣ] While still under the nurse (ἡ τροφότης).

CH. 137. § 1. τὸνδὲ τὸν] See note, ch. 101. The second μηδένα belongs to Περσέων and τώδε has to be supplied from the former μηδένα to οἰκετέων. Cf. 99. 2.

ἀνήκεστον] seems to refer to the mutilations so common in the East.

ΛΟΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ] An instance of the application of this law is given VII. 194. 2: but the Persian kings seem often not to have allowed themselves much time for the process. See III. 30. 5; 35. 3; VII. 39. 5; VIII. 90. 5.

§ 2. ὙΨΟΣ] Supply either (1) ὙΡGreek text obscured, which case ὕποβολμαία = ὕποβολμαία, or (2) τὲνα (Kr.), in which case τοιαῦτα = πατροφόρα. The latter seems preferable.

CH. 138. § 1. ΨΕΥΔΩΣΕΙΑ] 'The Persians were not always so scrupulous on the point of veracity. See III. 72. 6.' Larch. But though the acts ascribed to the seven conspirators are prob. in the main true, their 'discussions and intentions' are not. Grote H. G. III. 192 (ιV. 501). In the Behistun Inscription lying is constantly mentioned with abhorrence: 'Says Darius the king—For this reason Ormazd brought help to me because that I was not wicked nor a liar nor a tyrant...Thou who mayest be king hereafter, the man who may be a liar and who may be an evildoer, do not befriend them' (Col. IV. 13, 14). Rawlinson, App. Bk. III. μάλιστα δι᾽ Κ. Λ.] = μάλιστα δὲ ἵδι τὸ, ὃς φασὶν, ἄναγκαιν εἶναι. See note on ἀδικεῖτος δὲ, 143. 2.

§ 2. Ὑς ἀν δὲ] More commonly ὡς δὲ ὃς. But ὃς is regarded as forming one word with the relative.
§ 3. πολλοί] This, as it stands, must refer to the practice of different districts: in some foreigners attacked by leprosy are merely treated like native Persians, i.e. are forbidden to enter the towns (see above), but many people (i.e. the people in many districts) actually drive them out of the country. An ingenious but unsatisfactory conjecture is πομπόλ (cf. ch. 141). Others insert πολλοί before καὶ τὰς λευκὰς. But there is no reason for any change.

περιστέρας] Apparently on account of their whiteness (cf. λευκη, above).

Ch. 139. § 2. οὐνόματα] ‘Their proper-names,’ ἰδώμα in Hom. is only once used of a place (Od. xiii. 248). Hdt. uses it of places, e.g. ii. 155. 3, but here it is restricted to the names of persons (and apparently of men only: see note § 3) by the use of σφι. The meaning ‘word’ is later than Hdt.

ἐνότα ὀμοία] This is usually explained to mean:—‘Corresponding, as they do, to bodily (or pps. ‘personal’; cf. ἄνθρωπον σώμα for ἄνθρωπος, 32. 14, St.) qualities or high position,’ i.e. signifying these things, ὀμοία ἐνότα meaning ‘framed after.’ Stein cites in illustration several Persian names: Ἀρμενίς = φιλάγαθος, Τοστάσις = κτήστοις, Μιραβάτης, = ἥμισθωρος, Ὀργάς = εὐθέματος, Πρησάσις = φιλάγαθος. Schw. suggested that the σώματα τῶν οὐνομάτων (i.e. corpora vocabulorum, ‘roots of words’) might be opposed to their terminations (τελευταῖοι, implied in τελευτᾶσι), and the general meaning be that the roots were grand and high-sounding, while the terminations were simple and uniform: but this meaning could only be obtained by taking the two datives in different senses, which would be very harsh. More prob. Hdt. means simply that the Persians generally were tall grand-looking men (like Masistius, ix. 25. 1), and that their names corresponded to their splendour and their physique (τοῖσι σ. καὶ τῇ μ. pps. a sort of Hendiadys), i.e. were long and fine-sounding.

τελευτῶσι] The plural verb pps. may be explained by the use of πάσσα, ‘each and all.’ But see 100. 2, note.

Σῶν] The most primitive Greek alphabet seems to have had two sibilants San (=sh in sound; acc. to Don. ts) and Sigma (=s). When the introduction of Xi or Zeta had made the former letter unnecessary, the Dorians seem still to have retained its name for the remaining sibilant. But the Ionic custom of calling it Sigma eventually prevailed, as we should naturally have expected from the literary activity of the Ionic race. The Ionians of Asia Minor are said to have been the first to adopt the complete alphabet of twenty-four letters.

§ 3. ἐς τούτο] With τελευτῶσα. Hdt. must have intended to exclude female names from this rule, since they do not come under it either in
140 ἄλλα πάντα ὁμολογ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν ἰσχύς εἰπεῖν. τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ σαφήνεις, περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὡς ὦν πρῶτον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσου ὁ νέκυς, πρὶν ἀν ὑπὲρ ὄρνους ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆναι. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιεύοντας ταῦτα ὑμῖν λέγεται κατακριβώςατε δὴ ὦν τῶν νέκων Πέρσαι γῇ κρύστοις. Μάγοι δὲ κεκυρίδατα παλλόν τῶν 3 τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύοντες ἐμφυχὼν μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ δοσαθοῦσι. οἱ δὲ 4 δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὶ πάντα, πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτείνουσι· καὶ ἀγνώσιμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεύεται, κτείνοντες ὁμολογ. μύρμηκας τε καὶ φῆς, καὶ τᾶλα ἐφεταλ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ 5 ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐκέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη. Ανεμεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον λόγον.

141 Ἰωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφησαν ἐν τῷ Περσέων, ἐπεμπὸν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ

Greek or in ancient Persian. Some names of men on the inscriptions do end in S, e.g. Darayauus (Darius) Casis (Teispes). But many were pronounced with a vowel-termination, not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter.' Rawlinson. Hdt. seems to have been misled by the Greek forms into which the Persian names were cast.

Cf. 140. § 1. τοῦ διπόθ. Prob. neuter (97. 1, n.).

πρὶν ἄν...ἐλκυσθῆναι] 'Very rare.' Madv. It seems best to regard the inf. not as directly governed by πρὶν ἄν, but as the result of the oratio obliqua implied in λέγεται. The inf. thus simply takes the place of the subj. which would naturally follow, just as παρεινα, 24. 11 (see note) takes the place of the imperfect indic. 'Nihil refert conjunctivus an infinitivus addatur.' Hermann.

§ 3. καὶ τῶν] 'And especially,' as in the phrase ἄλλως τε καὶ.

dynėtouna] has a special force as applied to the Egyptian priesthood, the notion of personal purity being the basis of all their ceremonial. See II. 37.

§ 4. ἐπετεῖ] 'Non dubito quin apud Herodotum ἐπετεῖνοι nomine non reptilia modo verum etiam bestiae comprehendantur.' Wordsw. ad Theocr. xv. 118. Cf. ἤμενος ἢ ἐπετεῖν, Hom. Od. xvii. 158. Prob. here after τᾶλα we must mentally supply τοιαῦτα. 'The Zend Avesta prays all men, but esp. the priests, to destroy the animals of Angramainjus (Ahriman), 'the creator of evil creatures,' such as snakes, beasts of prey, &c., and on the other hand to protect and cherish the animals of Ahuramazda (Ormazd), viz. dogs, horses, cattle, and hares.' Stein.

§ 5. καὶ ἀρχὴν] 9. 3, note. καὶ as in καὶ τᾶλα, καὶ πρῶτον, refers to an implied νῦν, 'now, as also from the beginning.' The English idiom would rather have placed the 'also' with the 'now' (2. 3, note). See also II. 28. 1, n.

tὸν πρῶτ. λόγ.] See 95. 1, note.
The terms included the payment of tribute (6. 2) and prob. the dismantling of their fortifications (below, § 5).

Κροίσον καθά. usually takes the gen. A converse instance is the gen. after πελεθραί, 126. 6.

§ 2. λόγον] 'A fable.' So we have λογοκός used of Aesop, π. 134. 3; and τῶν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγων (Xen. Mem. π. 8. 13), which begins in the orthodox way:—'In the days when animals could talk.' &c. See Müller's Gr. Lit. i. 191, foll. The present fable appears among the fragments of Babrias (about 60 B.C.) who collected and versified the earlier Greek fables.

Χ. 141. § 1. ηπτι τοιού ᾑθ.] the datius ethicus used ironically: or it may be what is called the dative of reference: 'you may cease for me,' i.e. as far as I am concerned.

οὗ] 'as if καὶ νῦν had been expressed with παθεσθε.' Kr. Its force will be best seen by transferring the negative to the verb := refuse to dance now, since you also refused to dance before. Translate 'since ye would not before either come out and dance to my piping.'

§ 4. αὐτοῦ] 'Ulro.' See 76. 3.

§ 5. Πανιώνον] Ch. 148.

Μιλησίων] 'Why this favourable exception was extended to them we do not know.' Grote. The other Ionians are mentioned as standing apart from them, above, 18. 3.

οὗ] Cf. τῶν Κόλχων, 2. 4.

Ch. 142. § 1. τῶν ὁρ. ἐν τῇ κ.]
Hdt. uses much the same language of Greece proper:—ἡ 'Ελλάς τὰς ὄρους πολλὰς τις κάλλιστα κεκραμένας ἐλαχεῖ, III. 106. I.

§ 2. ἀνω...κατω] Since Libya had a very warm (II. 25. 1), and the north of Europe a very cold climate (IV. 28. 1), it is probable that by these words Hdt. really means 'north' and 'south:' but they cannot properly be translated in this way (72. 2, n.). Properly 'neither the parts above nor those below' is merely a rhetorical expression for 'no other country at all;' cf. the proverbial phrase ἀνω κατω τίθεναι, III. 3. 5. It is not unlikely, as Stein suggests, that the words ὀθρὲ τὰ πρὸς...ἐστήρην are a marginal note inserted by some commentator to explain τὰ ἄνω and τὰ κάτω. Blakesley thinks that the account which follows is possibly derived from Charon of Lampsacus, and that the phrases are to be explained by taking Lampsacus as a centre, τὰ ἄνω being the country between L. and Ionia, τὰ κάτω the parts beyond Ionia. But even so the meaning would be rather irregular. Abicht gives up the passage.

ποῦδε] In later Greek we should prob. have had πάχει, but the country is represented as producing those effects which would more naturally be attributed to the climate. In Attic ποὺδε is frequently used of the weather, e.g. τὸ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὸς ποὺδε; 'what kind of weather is it?' Ar. Av. 1501.

§ 3. νεομικοῖοι] Hdt. often uses the perf. of a custom, thus referring back to the time at which the custom originated: = 'have from the beginning.' The accus. after νομιῷ may be explained as being in apposition with an implied cognate accus., νόμον.

παραγγελὼν] 'Four kinds of deviations.' In the technical language of the grammarians a paraggelēs is an added syllable either in the middle or at the end of the word: e.g. εἰκαθέων παραγγελὼν ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἑλέους, Schol. ad Soph. Aj. quoted by Larcher. But here the word is simply used of dialectical variation.

§ 4. πρὸς μεσαμβρίνην] Looking southwards M. comes first. We might have had πρὸς with the gen.: 'starting from the south and going northwards, M. comes first;' cf. πρὸς τὴν Σκυθίαν, 145. 2; 110. 2, n.

σφι = σφαί (3. 3. n.).

§ 6. ὄμολογου...ὅμολογ, simply = 'to agree' (commune aliquid habeat: cf. II. 81. 3, Schw.), so that with κατὰ γλῶσσαν added it exactly = ὄμολογων.

οὗτῷ] This must be an exaggera-
tion, the existence of the Pan-Ionic festival proving that they were able to understand one another readily. 'But the author, who nowhere conceals a grudge against the Ionians, is anxious to bring out prominently the fact that the special purity of descent, on which the twelve cities prided themselves (146. 2: 147. 2), receives but little confirmation from their language.' Stein.

§ 2. Οὐτοὶ] The Asiatic Ionians (τοῦτον τῶν Ἡ below). Hdt. is giving a reason for the fact that the Ionians determined to apply for help, not to those of their own race in Greece proper, but to the Spartans (140. 6). They did so simply (καὶ ἄλλο μὲν ὀδὴν) because (1) there was no powerful Ionic state except Athens, and (2) the Athenians (and indeed the rest of the European Ionians) endeavoured as far as possible to sink their Ionic origin. The phrase οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς would include, besides the Athenians, all the Euboeans except the Syrtians and Carystians (viii. 46. 4; Thuc. vii. 57. 4), and the inhabitants of the Cyclades with the exception of Thera (Hdt. iv. 148. 4) and Melos (viii. 48. 2).

dοθέντος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This sentence exhibits some peculiarities. (1) We have δὲ used after ἄλλο μὲν ὀδὴν, where we should naturally have expected θηλιν or ἄλλο. Cf. ἄλλο μὲν οὐκ ἔφραξεν ἐρωτοῦ δυνάτος εἶναι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνον λοβησάμενον αὐτομολύσετε, iii. 154. 3, where εἰ δὲ = θηλιν εἰ. (2) We have the statement introduced by δὲ put forward as a simple fact, whereas we should have expected it to be brought forward as a cause (with διὰ) after the use of κατά, above: δὲ thus stands for θηλιν διὰ 'on no other account but
πολλά δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχιστοῦ ὁ γὰρ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰωνεῖς κεκληθαίοι ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τὸ οὖνόματι. αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις πόλεως αὐταῖ τῷ τε οὖνόματι ἡγαλλοῦτο, καὶ οἱ ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἐθέντο Πανιώνιον ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοίς ἄλλοις Ἰωναῖοι (οὐδὲ ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὖναμοι μετασχεῖν, ὡς μὴ Σμύρναιοι)· κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλεος νῦν χώρης Δωρέεις, ἦ πρότερον δὲ Ἐξαπόλεος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, ὕπαλλάθεροι οὐκ ἐμποδίσανε τῶν προσούνων Δωρέεων ἢ τὸ Τριποκόνδριον ἢ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τούς πέρι τὸ ἱδρύμα τὸ ἀνομήσαντες ἐξεκλήσαν τὴν μετοχὴν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἡγώνι τοῦ Τριποκοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκθέσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χάλκεους τούς κυκόσι καὶ τούτους χρήν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱδρύμα τῆς ἐκφέροι, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέμενος τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ἢ ἢ Ἀλκαρίνσεως, τῷ οὖνομα ἢ Ἡγασικλής, νικήσας τὸν νόμον καθλόγησε φέρου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωτοῦ οἰκία προσπασάλευσε τὸ τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτήν αἰ πέντε 4 πόλεως, Δυνδος, καὶ Ἱλυσοῦς τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κώς τε καὶ Κυίδος, ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἐκτητὴν πόλιν Ἀλυ-

because." Cf. κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὖν, φοβεῖσθαι  ὑπάρξειν (τὸ πλῆρος ὑποθέτειν), IX. 109. 4: see also I. 138. 1, note on μάλιστα δὲ. (3) As a further complication we have a gen. abs. intervening before the verb (ἢ), and the sentence resumed by a second δὲ, which simply repeats and carries on the first: 'except, I say, because.' ὁτι γραμὴ 18. 3, n.

§ 3. [θηναυ] So acc. to Hdt. Cleisthenes abolished the old Ionian tribes at Athens, ῥεῖερας Ἰωναῖος. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν] (and not only so) but: 'nay, even now.' This statement is attacked by the pseudo-Plutarch (de Herod. malign. 19).

§ 4. oδη—δέ] The negative form corresponding to καὶ—δέ.

Χ. 144. § 1. [θην] Cf. 69. 2: 132. 4.

τῶν προσ. Δωρ.] e.g. the inhabitants of Cyne (174. 3), Phaselis (Π. 178. 2), Nisyros and Calynda (Π. 99. 3), and Telos (Π. 153. 2). St.

to...toya] These words anticipate the story and so introduce γραμμα below. Cf. 65. 1. For the Asiatic Dories, see Grote, Π. II. ch. 15.

§ 2. [θηναυ] 'Used to give as prizes.' Hom. II. 393. 267. ἡπείρων μὲν πρῶτο τοιδίκεσαν ἕγλα
dεσδω γι' ἔνδε. We have the full phrase ἐς μᾶς τοιδίκεν, II. 704.

§ 4. τι καὶ] 'Prob. there was something in the constitution of the league, which would explain why Lindus stands by itself, while the
other four cities are thus coupled in pairs. Homer mentions the three Rhodian cities in the same order, 

Δυάδα τη Ἰληνον τε καὶ ἄργιλετα Κάμωνον (II. ii. 656).

CH. 145. § 1. 'Ἀχαιῶν κ.τ.λ.]
The same tradition, vii. 94. 'The Homeric poems take no notice of Ionians in the northern district of Achaia.' Grote H. C. i. 414 (II. 17). See also II. 368 (III. 236).

§ 2. μέν τε] The occurrence of μέν γε elsewhere does not justify the correction γε here. In Hom. we find μέν τε followed by δέ τε (II. v. 139), and also, as here, by δέ only (II. xxii. 464): see 14. 8, note.

εν τῷ] Sc. τόλι, οχρόγη.

dελανδας] Most of the rivers of Achaia are dry in summer owing to the nearness of the mountains to the coast.

δεῖ] See 7. 4, note.

δὲ ἐν Ἡταλ.] This river (Κράτειος, v. 45. 1) would naturally be men-

tioned by Hdt. because it flowed near Thurii, his adopted home.

CH. 146. § 2. εὑρετικ. τ.λ.] 'I say this is the reason, since the following is not the reason.' This elliptical use of εὑρετικ. implies a transition from one thought to another, and may often be rendered 'though.' Grote notices 'the polemical tone in which the remark is delivered,' and Dahlmann considers that it is directed against certain boastful pretensions of the Milesian Hecataeus.

οἴνους τοιαύ] 'Ἰωνεῖς is pred.

'Ἀβαντές] Cf. Hom. Π. ii. 536, οὐ δὲ Ἐδίμων ἐχὼν μένεα πνευμάτες 'Ἀβαντές.

§ 3. Μινωι] Hom. gives Orchomenus the epithet of Μινωι (Π. ii. 511). They are said to have founded Teos. The Καμάιων were the ancient Boeotians (v. 57. 2; Thuc. i. 12. 3), and were connected with Miletus (170. 3, n.), Priene and Colophon. Nothing is known of the connection of the Dryopians.
καὶ Καδμείοι καὶ Δρύστες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι καὶ Μο-
λοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωρίες Ἰπτιαύριοι,
ἀλλὰ τε ἐθνεὰ πολλὰ ἀναμεμέχθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ 4
πρυτανητοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γεν-
ναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰωνόν, οὕτω δὲ οὐ γυναῖκες ἤγαγοντο ἐς τὴν
ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Καίρας ἔσχων, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας.
διὰ τούτου δὲ τῶν φῶν αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτὰς νόμον θέμεναι 5
σφίσι αὐτῆς ὁρκοῦς ἐπιλαθαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τὴν θυγα-
τρασί, μὴ κοτὲ ὁμοσίτησι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι
βῶσαι τὸν ἐωτής ἀνδρα, τοῦτο ἐνεκα, ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων
τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἐπειτει, ταῦτα
ποιήσαντες, αὐτῆς συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ γινόμενα ἐν 6
147 Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Δυκίοι, 1
ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας
Πυλίους, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου ὁι δὲ καὶ συναμφο-

(56. 5; viii. 43. 2) with Ionia. The Phocians are said to have founded Phocaea.

ἀποδάσμοι] This prob. (cf. II. 103. 3) implies a species of secessio, the result of internal dissensions (St.). Translate 'detached.'

Μολοσσοὶ] Of these and the remaining peoples named nothing certain is known.

ἀλλα [θυ.] Such as the Carians, Lycians, &c.

§ 4. πρυτανητοῦ] This implies that they were full Athenian citizens. See Smith’s Dict. Ant. Colonía. For the connection of Athens with the Ionian emigration, see Thuc. i. 2. 6.

οὕτω δὲ] repeats of δὲ above.

Καίρας] i.e. women of the country: Miletus, Myus and Priene were in Caria (142. 4).

§ 5. ἐπιλάθαν] Acc. to Buttmann (Lexil. ὄρκος) ἐπ- refers to the thing, and νόμον θέμεναι must be joined to σφίσι αὐτῆς. ὁρκοῦ ἐπιλάθασι means therefore ‘to lay a solemn oath on a thing,’ ‘bind oneself to it by an oath.’ But ὁρκοῦς προσάγων σφί (vi. 74. 2) is in favour of taking σφίσι αὐτῆς with ἐπιλά-

sav. On this view ἐπιλαθαῖν will only be a stronger form of προσάγειν (compare ὁρκοῦ ἐπιλάθασι, a compulsory oath, Isocr. Dem. 23). St. Translate: ‘forcibly laid oaths upon one another.’ The Lat. phrase ius-
jurandum adiger e not really par-
allel, since there the real object of the verb is always aliquid, either expressed or implied.

τὸν ἐωτής] As if μηδέμιαν had been used above. Compare the change from plur. to sing. 132. 2.

§ 6. οὐ γινόμενα] ‘It was at M. that these things went on.’ The periphrasis for ēγενεῖσται emphasizes the duration of the action.

CH. 147. § 1. βασιλεάς δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Hdt. states three arguments against the special claims of the Asiatic Ionians:—(1) they were for the most part a mixed race originally; (2) those of them who, like the Miles-
sians, were originally Athenian citi-
zens, took foreign wives; (3) the chiefs whom they set over them were not of Ionic descent.

Γλαύκου] Cf. Hom. II. 2. 876; vi. 119.

Καύκ. Πυλίους] i.e. the Caunones of Triphylia (iv. 148. 4). The Ho-
τέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχοντα τοῦ ὑστόματος μᾶλλον τι ἃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἐστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαροὶ γεγονότες Ἰωνεὶς εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνεὶς, ὡσεὶ ἠπτ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγονότι καὶ Ἀπατούραι ἀγονοὶ ὑρτην. ἀγονοὶ δὲ πάντες πιλὴ Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφονίων οὖν τοι γὰρ μοῦν Ἰώνων οὐκ ἀγονοὶ Ἀπατούραι, καὶ οὔτοι κατὰ φόνον τινὰ σκῆσιν. Τὸ δὲ Πανώνιον ἔστι τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἢς πρὸς ἄρκτων τετραμένος, καυχ. ἔξαραμημένος υπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδῶν Ἐλληκοῦς ἢ δὲ Μυκάλη ἔστι τῆς ἰησούρον ἀκρη, πρὸς ἡμῶν ἄνεμον κατηκοῦσα Σάμων, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνεὶς ἄγεσκον ὑρτην, τῇ ἐπικεφαλεῖα οὖνμα Πανώνια. πεπόνθαι δὲ 2

meric Pylus was apparently not in the territory of the Caucones: see Od. iii. 366. St. Acc. to Hdt. Codrus and Melanthus emigrated from Pylus to Athens (v. 65. 4).

§ 2. οὔτωσαν εἰς κατ. This implies that the two races intermarried.

§ 2. οὔτωσαν εἰς κατ. Not 'let us call then those that are of pure descent Ionians,' but 'let us call them then the really thoroughbred Ionians,'—a hit at their extravagant pretensions. οὔτωσαν implies giving a new name. Cf. Aristot. Eth. ii. 7. 3, ἐλλειποῦσας δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱδὼν δὲ πάνω γεγονοῖς διότι ὑπὸ ὑστόματος τετυχήσαν, οὔτωσον δὲ ἀναλαθοῦν. δὲ repeats αἱδ, and introduces the apodosis after the clause αἱδερ κατ. See ii. 116. 1, n. καὶ adds emphasis:—'not merely Ionians but' (ii. 115. 1, n.).

αἰδερ δὲ πάντες κατ. 'We must construe both these tests of Ionism with indulgence.' Grote H. G. ii. 367 (iii. 234), n.

§ 3. πιλὴ Ἐφεσιῶν] The Ephesians must have kept the feast originally, since one of the months in their calendar, which nearly corresponds with the month in which the feast was kept at Athens (Pyanephen), was called Ἀπατούρεων (see Dict. Ant. Calendarium, Apaturia). καὶ οὕτως] καὶ has a restrictive force (102. 4). φόνοι] Advantage was often taken of feasts for purposes of assassination or revolution. Thus Hipparchus was assassinated at the Panaeathenae, 'the only day on which no suspicion attached to large bodies of citizens wearing arms,' Thuc. vi. 56. 2.

Ch. 148. § 1. πρὸς ἄρκτων τετρ. i.e. on the north-side of the promontory (ἄκρη, below).

διαρρήματοι] 'Set apart:' cf. διαιροῦν, ii. 98. 1. With the anomalous reduplication compare ὀρόφρυκτο, 186. 4.


κατηκοῦσα Σ.] 'Stretching (out to sea: cf. ὀνοῦς ἐς ἀλάσσων κατηκοῦς, vii. 22. 3) off Samos.' This local dative is uncommon except with names of cities. Krug, compares τῇ Δήλῳ ἔχθων, 'touched at Delos,' Thuc. iii. 29. 1; Jelf λίμνη κεκλειμένων Κηφισίδη, Hom. Il. v. 709. εἰς τὴν] refers, not to Samos, but to Mycale.

§ 2. τετούθησα δὲ κατ. Stein thinks that this sentence was originally a marginal note, in answer to a previous commentator, who had written Ἰωνικῶς or Ἰακώς over the termination of Πανώνια. Certainly the use of παράχω here is an idiom which one would hardly have expected in Hdt.

9—2
132 ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΤ [149. i:]
οὕτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὤρται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλλήνων πάντων ὁμόως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶν γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατάτερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ συνόματα. αὕται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσι.
149 Αἰδέ δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη, ἡ Φρικωνίς καλεομένη, Αήρισσαι, Νέων τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγιρόσασα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαιαί, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια: αὕται ἐνδέκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαίαι. µία γὰρ σφέων παρελθή ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνην. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὕται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἱπτερῷ. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Αἰολίες χῶρην µὲν ἐπιυχον κτίσαντες ἀµείλω Ἰώνων, ὀρέων δὲ Ἥκουσαν οὐκ ὁµοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ οὕτω ἀπέβαλον Αἰολίες.
150. Κολοφωνίανς ἀνάρις στάσει ἐσοσθέντας καὶ ἐκτέσοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. µετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τόσως Σμυρναίους ὅρτην ἔξω τεῖχος ποιευµένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλιθάσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. Βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ἡµολογή ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ 3 ἐπιπλα ἀποδύοντων τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐκλπεῦνε Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων, ἐπίδιελυτόν σφέας αἱ 4 ἐνδέκα πόλεις, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολλάτερ.
151 Αὕται µὲν νυν αἱ Ἰτερώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ἰδὴ οἰκηµένων' κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὕται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ἐξουσαι, πέντε µὲν πόλεις τὴν Δέσβουν νέµονται· τὴν γὰρ ἐκτην ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ οἰκεοµένην 'Αρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδιαν Μη-

tōto] = having the termination, a.
κατάπερ τῶν Ἡμ.] 139. 2.
Ch. 149. § 1. αἱ Αἰολίδες]
Φρικωνίς] Prob. so called from Phrictium, a mountain above Thermopylae, the Aeolic emigrants having come from Locris.
αἱ ἀρχαῖαι] These older cities are opposed to the later Aeolic settlements round mount Ida (151. 1.). See Grote.
σφέων] depends on παρελθῆ, = 'was set loose from,' λύσθαι referring to the severing of the Bund.
§ 2. ἦσαν] 'Used to be,' before this.
καὶ αὕται] as well as the Ionic cities.
dµέλων] = more fertile: cf. ἄρση, 103. 2.

Ηκουσαν] 30. 8. n.
Ch. 150. § 1. ὑπεδέξαντο] Sc. οἱ Σμυρναῖοι, ὑπ. = under shelter.
§ 3. τῶν Ἰώνων] Colophon was an Ionian town (142. 5).
§ 4. ἐπιδιελυτ. σφέας] Not 'distributed themselves afresh,' but 'distributed them (the Smyrnaeans) among themselves.' So ἐπιδιελόµενοι τὰς πόλις ἐπορθεῖον, v. 116. 2. For Σμυρναίων...σφέας, see 3. 3. n. 'Smyrna appears to have become Ionic before a. c. 688,' Grote. Cf. 16. 2.
Ch. 151. § 1. κεχωρίδαται] = χωρίς εἰσι (cf. κεχωρίδαται, 4. 4).
§ 2. πέντε µὲν] Answered by ἐν Τερέδω δὴ µία.
ἐκτην] is pred., τῆν belonging to οἰκεοµένην, which is the imperf. participle.
ΚΛΕΙΟ.

152 'Ως δὲ ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰωνῶν καὶ Αἰολέων ἰοί ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα) εἰλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα τῷ Πύθερμος. ὅ ἐς, πορφύρειν τε εἰμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἀν πυθανόμενοι πλείστους συνεδόθησαν Σπαρτητείους, καὶ καταστὰς ἐλεγε τολλά, τιμωρήσας εὐνυτοῖς χρήζων. Λακεδαίμονει δὲ οὐ καὶ ἦκον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφί μὴ τιμωρέει Ἰωσὶ. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαίμονει δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰωνῶν τῶν ἄγγελων, ὡς ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντάρχον ἀνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τῷ Κύρον πρεσσάμοις καὶ Ἰωνης. ἀπικομένοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν, ἐπιμετον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρον Λακεδαίμονεον ῥήσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἐλλαδὸς μηδεμίαν πόλιν συναφρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιογμένοι.

153 Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τῷ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἐλλήνων, τίνες ἔοντος ἀνθρωποι Λακεδαίμονει καὶ κόσοι πλήθος, ταῦτα ἐοιτῷ προαγορέουσι. τυπανὸ μὲν δὲ μὴ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τῶν Σπαρτητῆν: "Οὐκ...

'Αρισταν...ἐντας] Cf. 67. 3; 211. 2. ἀλλὰ μία] i.e. the scattered inhabitants of these small islands formed one state in the league.

CH. 152. § 1. oi ἄγγελοι] See 141. 6. γὰρ] As soon as they arrived (for there was no time to be lost) they chose etc.

tὸν Φ.] This seems to imply that each state sent one envoy.

§ 2. πορφύρειν] 'An attractive spectacle amid the plain clothing universal at Sparta.' Grote. 'Hdt. thinks this fact deserves prominence as a mark of Ionian luxury.' St. ἐμαύ] = ἱμάτιον (155. 6). ὁς δὲ] 75. 5. καταστὰς] implies a 'set speech.' ἔλεγε τολλά] This would not help them at Sparta: see III. 46. 1. ἀπέδοξε σφί] 'They resolved on the contrary' (172. 3).

§ 3. οὐ μὲν] Cf. 131. 1.

§ 4. ἀπερέοντα...ρής] This may = 'to deliver a verbal message' (L. and S. Lex.), ἀπο- thus merely meaning 'forth,' as in ἐρᾷ μὲν δὴ τὸν μύθον ἀπηλεγέει ἄσοικε. Homer. H. IX. 309. But more prob. here as in other passages in Hdt. ἀπο- anticipates the following negative (cf. 155. 6). ῥής is thus a cognate accus. (instead of ἀφόρης), depending on part only of the verbal notion.

CH. 153. § 2. οὐκ ὑμεῖς καὶ] Krüg. reads κως here and at IV. 97. 5.
and Stein explains ὅθ...κω as equivalent to οὗ κὼς, ὀδαμῶς, comparing Hom. Od. xvi. 161, οὔγαρτον τάντας θειο φανοντα ἐναργεὶς. But this is unnecessary. The meaning may be either 'never yet did I fear,' like οὗ γὰρ τῶν τούτων ἄνωρι, II. 1. 162; or more prob. 'not yet do I fear,' like οὗ κω λέγα, 32. 7. On this latter view, ἔδεισα is an example of the idiomatic use of the aorist, so common in the dramatists, e.g. παρήςεα, Soph. Phil. 1434; ἀπέκτυσα, Eur. Hec. 1279; ἄρ' γαθε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ γίνῃ δὴ καταγέλασα, Plat. Leg. III. 686, the action, though really in present time, being referred by the aorist to the moment immediately preceding the speech:—'I do not yet fear, I felt' (i.e. just now, while being informed about the Lacedaemonians).

ομοιότερος] Nowhere else used: but Bähr does not adopt Bekker's correction, ὀμοιότερος.

§ 3. ἔλεος[α] 'Matter for gossip,' i.e. in their ἄγορα. The λέος was an important institution in Doric states. At Sparta each tribe had its λέος or club-room (Dict. Ath.). So γενέμεναι λέοσις, of a discussion among Spartans, ix. 71. 5: cf. II. 32. 1. n.

§ 4. τοὺς πάντας] 'The Greeks, as a body.'

ἀνέρρ.[] 'Cast in the teeth of://'κτησόμενος] Stein reads στησόμενον, comparing ἄγορα ὅθεν ἐκταταλεῖν σφι, vi. 58. 7. Certainly we should have expected ἐκτατέμενον, like μακτήμενον ἐκκυθάναι, I. 49. But the aor. is used by Homer (for the plur. perf.) in the sense of 'possessed': II. ix. 400, κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι, τα γέρων ἐκτήσατο Πηλεύς, Od. xiv. 4, κήδε τοῦ κοῖλου, οὐς κτήσας δοὺς Ὀδυσσεῖς.

§ 5. οἱ Πέρσαι] So Xenophon in his ideal Persian state only allows an ἔλεουθερον ἄγορα, Cyrop. I. 2. 3 (compare Aristotle's double ἄγορα, Pol. iv. 12). Even in Greece the commercial side of the ἄγορα was never a subject of national pride. Notice the use of ἄγοραις (ii. 141. 4; 167. 2). The ancient Greek commercial ἄγορα has its counterpart at the present day in the Oriental bazaar.

§ 6. ἐπιτρέψας] A trace of the way in which the Persian empire was administered before the time of Darius: 'Tabalus being governor of Sardis, Pactyas receiver-general of the treasury, and Mazares (156. 3) commander-in-chief.' Heeren.

κομβ[ευ] Not 'to carry to Aegbatana' (for this office he would prob. have named a Persian, not a Lydian), but simply 'to take care of,' like κτήματα μὲν, τὰ μοι ἐστι, κομβέμενοι ἐν μεγάροις, Hom. Od. xxiii. 355. St. So κομβέ (of a plant) 'take care of it,' 'rear it up.' Aesch. Cho. 262.
польσάμενος τὴν πρότην εἶναι. ἢ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἢν ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Λιγύπτιοι, ἐπὶ οὐς ἐπεισε χεῖ το στρατηγήτευειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνᾶς ἄλλον 154 πέμπειν στρατηγὸν. Ὅς δὲ ἀπῆλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τὸν Λυδόν ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτής ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀπὸ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπείδη σὺν ἔως τὸ στρατευεῖσθαι. ἐλάσσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολύρκεε Ταβάλου, ἀπεργημένον ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει.

155 Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ὅδου ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖςον τάδε: "Κροῖςε, τί ἐστι τὸ τέλος τῶν γυνομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδόι, ὡς οἶκασι, πρήγματα παρέχονται καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐχοντες. φροντίζω, μὴ ἀριστον ἢ ἐξαιρετικοῦσαβαί σφεας ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν ὑπὲρ σεας ταυτότητα κἀκεφαλαίον εἶναι, ὥς ἐσε ἐκ τῆς πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείδαιτο. ὅδε δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδόν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἡ πατέρα ἐκόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῦσι δὲ Λυδοῖς τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα καὶ ἑπεκτὰ θυμαίῳ, εἰ μοι ἀπεστασία; " Ο μὲν δὴ τά πρὸς ἑνήκε, ἐλεγε, ὁ δὲ ἀμειβετο τούτω, δείξαις μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις: " Ὁ Βασιλεὺς, τὰ μὲν αἰκατα εἰρήκας ό μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρεό, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίν ἐξαναστήσῃς, ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τὴν πρότην An adverbial phrase like τὴν ταχιστὴν (cf. τὴν πρότην ἔθνα, III. 134. 8).

εἶναι This has been explained as added pleonastically after ἐν ὁδεῖν το Πευχάμενος, like ἐπῶνυμον ἐχοντος Θασίου ἔθνα (II. 44. 3). But more prob. εἶναι is to be taken with τὴν προτήν in a restrictive sense (172. 1, n.); 'at least to begin with.' Cf. τὸ σύμταν εἶναι, VII. 143. 5, and the common phrases τὸ νῦν εἶναι, τὸ τῆμαν εἶναι (Bähr).

§ 7. τὶς...[See II. 136. 2, n.]

For the misplacement of τη, cf. I. 117. 3.

Ch. 154. ἐκ τοῦ χρ. ἐκον] This gives a reason for ἐμπόδιον.

Ch. 155. § 1. ο[.] On the analogy of verbs of fearing: "I doubt whether it be not best.

§ 2. ὁς ἐν τοις κτ.λ.] An allusion to the Greek proverb, attributed to Statius (II. 117. 1, n.), ἡπτιον, δὲ πατέρα κτινας τιδας καταλεῖπη (Aristot. Rhet. I. 15. 14; II. 21. 11). Below, § 4, another Greek proverbial saying is put into the mouth of Croesus.

Δυνάω] Governed by πατέρα.

dey] as prisoner: captivity being equivalent to death.

§ 3. τὰ μν[.] τὰ is demonstrative: ὁδὲ predicate.

τῶντα] Cf. 99. 1; II. 95. 3.
τῶν νῦν ἐστεότων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἐπηρήξα, 4 καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρέόντα, Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἄδικος, τὸ σὺ ἐπέτερψας Σάρδης, οὕτος δότω τοις δίκην. Λυδοῦσι δὲ συγγρωμήν ἔχουν τάδε 5 αὐτοῖς ἐπίταξον, ὥσ μήτε ἀποστέώσι, μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἐσωτ. ἀπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὡπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ 6 σφεάς κιθώνας τε ὑποδύουσι τοῖς εἰμασι, καὶ κοθόρουν ὑπο- δέεσθαι' πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖς κιβαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ 7 καπηλεύει παιδεύει τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφεάς, ὥς βασίλει, γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὦφεια γεγονότας, ὡστε οὐδὲν 156 δεινοὶ τοι ἐσωταντι, μὴ ἀποστέωσι. 'Κροίωσ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα 1 1 οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρωκὼς Λυδοῦσι, ἢ ἀνδρα- ποδίσχεται προθήκην σφεάς: ἐπιστάμενος ἃν ἢ μὴ ἀξιό- χρεων πρόφασιν προτείη, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβολευ- σάσθαι, ἀρραβών δὲ, μὴ καὶ υστερῶν κοτε οἱ Λυδοῖ, ἢν τὸ

epsilon] Thuc. v. 46. 1, εὐ ἐπιτότων τῶν πραγμάτων [Kr.].
§ 4. κεφαλὴ ἀναμάξας] Hom. Od. xix. 92, ἔρωσιν μεγᾶ ἐργον, ὅ σφι κεφαλὴ ἀναμάξας. On the usual explanation of this phrase (L. and S. Lex.) the metaphor would seem to have come from the custom of wiping the sword on the head of the murdered man: κατὰ λουτρώσαν κάρα | κηθίδας ἐξέμασεν, Soph. El. 445. But neither here nor in the passage from the Odyssey is there any allusion to punishment by death. Hence Stein ingeniously suggests that the verb may be ἄν-αμαγεῖν (ἀμ-αγεῖ = cogere, coacervare, whence ἀμαξά), so that the meaning would be: 'That which happened before was my own work, and I bear the burden of it heaped upon my own head.' Cf. τίνες εἰσίν οἱ ἄν εἰκότων τῆς τῶν γεγονομένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀναθεῖσιν ἀπαντείς, Dem. de Cor. 323. It is difficult to find any parallel for the combination of ἄνα and ἀμα in composition, but this interpretation seems simpler than the older one. There is a similar doubt as to whether προορέδεξαντο is to be referred to ἄγω or σάσω (190. 3, n.).

τὰ δὲ νῦν π.] Put in construction with ἄδικος (the nearer verbal notion) instead of with δότω δίκην. See 24. 7, n.

τὸ σὺ ἐπέτρ.] This is slightly inconsistent with 153. 6.
§ 6. ἀρήια] Added because ὡπλα in Hdt. is not entirely restricted to the meaning, 'weapons' (cf. vii. 25. 1). So Hom. II. x. 407, τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἐπετεία κείται ἀρῆια; where the epithet marks the distinction from other ἐπετεία, e.g. ἐπετεία δαυτός (Od. vii. 232). ὑποδύουσι] This implies that they had not hitherto worn both garments together. Either was worn separately: cf. ὀλχῖτων (Od. xiv. 489) with ἀχίτων, i.e. wearing only the ἱματιόν (Xen. Mem. i. 6. 2). The κοθόρος had a thick sole; hence it would tend to make the Lydians ποδαθοῖ (55. 2).

§ 7. κιβαρίζειν] depends on παι- δεύειν.

CH. 156. § 1. ταῦτα οἱ ὑπ. 'Evidently an hypothesis to explain the contrast between the Lydians of Hdt.'s time and the old irresistible horsemen of the days of Croesus,' Grote.

ἐπιστάμενος] 122. 1, n.
КЛЕИО.

Σ. 137

παρευ υπεκδράμωσι, αποστάντες από τῶν Περσέων ὕπό-

πολυνταῖ. Κύρος δὲ ἦσθε ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποθήκης, καὶ ὑπεις τής ὄργης, 2

εφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσασι δὲ Μαξάρεα ἄνδρα Μήδουν, 3

tαιτά ὦ ενετελάτε προετιοῦν λυδοῦς, τὰ ὦ Κροῖσος ὑπε-

τιθετο' καὶ πρὸς ἤπαιναι τισισεθαι τῶν ἄλλως πάντας, οἱ

μετὰ λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύν

157 πάντως ἠγαγεῖν παρ' ἐσωτέρων. 'Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ 1

τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐνετελάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἱδεα τὰ Περσέων. Πακ-

τύνθε δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατόν ἐπ' ἐσωτέρων ἱόντα,

deisas χεκτο φεύγων εἰς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὦ Μήδους ἐλά-

ςας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, τοῦ Κύρου στρατού μοιράν ὅσην δὴ κοτε

ἐχων, ὁς οὐκ εὑρε ἐτὶ ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύν ἐν Σάρδισι,

πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἴνα γακαὶ τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπι-

tελέειν' ἐκ τοῦτο δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν

dιαταν τῆς ζῆσης μετέβαλλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμπε 4

ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγχόλαυς, ἐκδιάδων κελευν στρατόν Πακτύν' οἱ δὲ

Κυμαῖοι ἐγνώσαν, συμβούλησι πέρι ἵπθεον ἀνώσαι τὸν ἐν

Βραγχίδαν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μαντήνοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένων, 5

tο' Ἰωνίς τε πάντες καὶ Αιολέαι ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι. ὁ δὲ

χώρος οὕτως ἐστὶ τῆς Μηλησίας ὑπὲρ Πανόμμου λιμένως.

158 Πέμποντες δὲν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρῶτους, 1

eιράτευον περὶ Πακτύν ὁκοίν τι ποιεόμεν τεούς μελιλοειν

ὑπεκδράμωσι] 'Should they escape the present imminent danger.'

τρέχων often implies a notion of danger: περὶ ἐσωτότρέχων, VII. 57.

1; τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, IX. 37. 3; ἐπεκ- either as in ὑπεκτιθαία (V. 65.

2) 'to convey out and place in safety,' or more simply 'from under.'

Ch. 167. § 1. Εἰ τῆς ὁδοῦ] Cf. 'quas ex itinere literas misisti.' Cic.

Fam. 111. 9.

άθα πᾶ τὰ Π.] i.e. Agbatana (153.

6), which was properly the home of the Median race (98. 5). But Hdt.

uses the language of his own day, when the distinction between Mede

and Persian was scarcely recognized. See note, 163. 3.

§ 2. Εἰκετο φεύγων] See 160.

5, n.

§ 3. ὁδή κοτι] See note on ὁδή, 86. 6.

τοὺς ἀμφι Π.] The phrase includes Πακτύαν himself.

§ 4. συμβούλης πέρι] πέρι denotes the subject on which they re-

ferred to the god: 'on the matter of the counsel which they had to

take together,' like περὶ σφοννέων ἀνώσαι ἐς τοὺς πλευνας, VII. 149. 2.

§ 5. ὑπὲρ] The temple stood on high ground. Its remains are still

'visible to one who sails along the coast.' Dict. Geogr. No one would

gather from this passage that Hdt. had already twice mentioned the

oracle (46. 2; 92. 2). Cf. 170. 3.

Ch. 158. § 1. τοὺς Βρ.] See 92.

2, n.

οὐχίν τι] An unnecessarily in-
χαρείσθαι. ἐπειρωτάσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο, ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσης. Ταῦτα δὲ ἄς ἀπενειχάντα τῆς ἦκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὅρμεάτο ἐκδιδόναι. ὅρμεωμένου δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ πλῆθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεως, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐων δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποησᾶ ταῦτα Κυμαῖοι, ἀποστέων τε τῷ χρήσμῳ, καὶ δοκεών τοὺς θεοπρόσοποις οὐ λέγειν ἀληθεῖς; ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ δεύτερου περὶ Πακτύνης ἑπιρροῆς, ἱεὺσαι ἅλλοι θεοπρόσοποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀποκομένων δὲ τὸ ἄρχον ἔχαστρα, ἐχθροσπάζετε ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος, ἐπειρωτάσι τάδε. "ὢ οὖν, ἥλιος παρ' ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύνης ὁ λυκός, φεύγων θάνατον βλαβοῦ πρὸς Περσέων οἱ δὲ μω ἔξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαῖοι κελεύοντες ἡμῖν δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τάδε ὑπὸ τετολμηκαμένον ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἀν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλώθη ἀτρέκεως, ὅκοτερα ποιεώμεν." Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ταύτα σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαυε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσης. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίας ἐπολεία τάδε περίμεν ὑπὸν κύκλω, ἐξαιρεῖ τοὺς στραυθῶν, καὶ ἀλλὰ ὅσα ἦν νευροσύνεμα ὅρυθοι γένεα ἐς τῷ κυβρ. ποιεῶντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται φαυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι, φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε.

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§ 3. δὲ δὲ] The god, Apollo: to whom alone Hdt. applies the title ὄντας (§ 2).

§ 5. ἀδύτου] Here apparently distinct from the μέγαρον, in which the θεοπρόσοποι would be. Prob. not all temples were constructed alike: cf. ἐτὸς μέγαρον ἐσ γένεσθαι ἐς τὸν ναὸν (at Delphi), and the Pythia's answer, ἄλλα τόρο ἐς ἀδύτων, VII. 140.

φέροντας] Probably with a local signification like τὸ πρὸς νότων φέροντα, VII. 301. 3; ἀδύτου φέροντας ἐς τὸν, II. 122. 3. The word refers to that modification in the sound of a voice, by which we can tell, without seeing the speaker, whether we ourselves are addressed or not. χρηστήριον τά Ἀργελοὺς φέρον (VII. 19. 1) is different.
ΚΛΕΙΩ.

"Ανοσσωτάτε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τοιμάς ποιεῖσι; τοὺς 6 ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νησὶ κεραίζεις;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ 7 ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπών: "Ωναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖς ἱερατίς βοηθείς, Κυμαιόν δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἵκετην ἐκδιδόναι;" Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀμείβασθαι τούτῳ "Ναλ κελεύω, 8 ἵνα γε ἀσέβθησαντες θάσοιν αὐτὸς ἀπόληθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ 160 ἱερεῖος ἐκδόσιος ἔλθη, ἅπαντα τὸ χρηστήριον." Ταῦτα ὃς 1 ἀπενεχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαιοὶ, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὕτω ἐκδόν- τες ἀπολέσθαι, οὐτε παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες πολυρρέεσθαι, εἰς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουν. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναιοὶ, ἐπὶ 2 πέμποντος τοῦ Μαξάρους ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτὴν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μοσθῆ ὅσον δὴ οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῖς γε εἰπεῖν ἄτρεκέος οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεσθεί. Κυμαιόν γὰρ, ὃς ἔμαθον 3 σταύτα προσσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῦν ἐς Δέσβου, ἑκκυμίζουσι Πακτὴν ἐς Χίον. ἔνθετεν δὲ, ἐξ 4 ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθείς ὑπὸ Χίουν, ἑξεδόθη ἑξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεὺς μοσθῆ του δὲ Ἀταρνεύς τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσίνης, Δέσβου αὐτίος. Πακτὴν 5 μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἰχον ἐν φυλακῇ, δέλοντες Κύρος ἀποδέξαται. ἤν δὲ χρόνος οὕτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, 6

§ 8. Ἡν γε ἄσεβ.] Compare the ironical answer given to Glauicus at Delphi, vi. 86. 13. Notwithstanding this attempt to evade responsibility, the temple at Branchidae was eventually plundered by the Persians during the Ionic revolt (vi. 19. 4). Ch. 160. § 1. Μυτιλήνην] The Lesbians and Chians (§ 3) had nothing to fear from the Persians (143. 1).

§ 2. ἐκδιδόναι.] The inf. depends on ταρακεύσατο. εἰπ’ μοσθῆ ὅσον δὴ] ‘For such and such a price!’ εἰπ’, because the price was the basis of the negotiations: cf. go. 3.

§ 4. Πολιούχου] ‘Guardian of the citadel’ (14. 8. n.): a title derived from the Athenian use of the term πόλις (Thuc. II. 15. 8; v. 23. 5).

τοῦ δὲ Ἄ. τούτου] ‘Ἀταρνεύς go-

vernèd by χῶρος would only give the (non-) sense: 'a part of A. belongs to M.' Hdt. prob. wrote ὅ δὲ Ἀταρνεύς οὕτω or simply ὅ δὲ, so that τοῦ Ἀ. τούτου would have arisen from what follows (§ 6).’ Krüg. Possibly however Ἀταρνεύς may denote the town, so that τοῦ Ἀ. τούτου (ὅ) χῶρος would = ager hic Atarnensis, the sentence fully expressed being τοῦ Ἀ. τούτου ὅ χῶρος ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μ., but the phrase is a strange one.

§ 5. Π. μὴν νυν] Hdt.’s account is confirmed by Charon of Lampsa-

cus: Πακτὴς δὲ ὡς ἐπώδετο προσε- 

λαϊνόντα τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Περσικῶν ὑκέτο φεῦγον (above, 157. 2) ἐρτὶ μὲν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἔπεσα δὲ εἰς Χίον 

καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κύρος,—though the pseudo-Plutarch cites the passage to prove Hdt.'s kathedea.

§ 6. οὕτως] anticipates δὲ. 'But
οτὲ Χλων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἁταρνέος τοῦτον οὐτὲ οὐλᾶς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐπούετο θεῶν οὐδειλ, οὐτὲ πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χόρης ταύτης γινόμενα. Χίου μὲν γὰρ Πακτύν 161 ἐξέδουσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολορκησάντας Τάβσαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πρυγέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε, ληθὴν ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίν δὲ ἰσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αὐτίκα νοῦφι τελευτᾷ.

162 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦτον, Ἀρταγός κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς 1 στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμοι ἑπατέχευ έδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληὴν συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὁμιρό τὸτε ὑπὸ Κύρου 2 στρατηγίας ἀποδεχθεῖ, ὡς ἀπικετῶ ἐστὶν Ἰωνὴν, αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλιας χάμασι δικώς γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσει, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε. πρώτη δὲ Φώκαιὴ 3 Ἰωνίης ἐπέχειρησε.

163 Οἱ δὲ Φώκαιες οὗτοι ναυτιλίησι μακρῆς πρῶτοι Ελλήνων ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδριναὶ καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ

that was no short time which passed therein.

πρόχυσιν ἐπούετο] This forms one verbal notion (=προδέχεσθαι) and so takes another accus. Cf. 63. 2. The πρόχυσις was the sprinkling of meal on the victim's head.

ἀπείχετο] Very uncommon in a passive sense. Prob. Abicht is right in explaining it as the middle voice (like ἐπέσσετο), and supplying ἐκάστος (from οὐδεὶς, above) for its subject. Cf. 99. 2, n.

τὰ πάντα γινόμενα] Produce of every kind; not merely barley and wheat (St.).

Ch. 161. τοὺς συμμ. i.e. τοὺς ἑνδυθάλασσους, above, ch. 154. Magnesia is situated on a tributary of the Maeander.

ἄσαντος = ἐξηνδραποδίσατο.

Ch. 162. § 1. καὶ αὐτῶς] As well as Mazares.

τραπετί[τα] Virtually = 'dish,' the courses being served on separate

trays (119. 4).


ἄκουσ] See 17. 4, n.

τειχήρεας π.] 'Having shut them up (i.e. the inhabitants: cf. 151. 2) within their walls.'

ἐπόρθεε = 'stormed.' Schw. quotes Diodor. Sicul. (xv. 3), τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἀμα καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

§ 3. Ἰωνής] Acc. to Stein this depends on πρώτη, like Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσιοῖς, 26. 1.

More prob. however it depends on Φώκαλη, = 'in Ionia' (see note on τῆς πόλιος, 84. 4). Krüger says that in this case we must read τῆς Ἰωνίας, but cf. Αἰγύπτου, p. 113. 2; οἰκημένου δὲ Διονύση ἐπὶ τῆς νοτίης θαλάσσης, III. 17. 1.

Ch. 163. § 1. τὸν τε Ἀδριναὶ] Sc. κόλπον. 'The phrase includes the adjacent land. So often Πόντος and Ἑλλησπόντος.' Kt.


The Spanish peninsula and the Mediterranean coast of France. Tarshuss (prob. = ‘Tarfshish’) was near the site of the mod. Cadiz.

Some Samians had discovered Tarshuss about a century before (iv. 152. 3): but the Phocaeans first pointed out the way for a regular traffic.

Though their object was commercial, they did not employ merchant vessels of the ordinary build, ‘prob. for fear of the Etruscan pirates.’ Bähr. A fragment of Anacreon refers to Argyphonius: ἔγινε δ’ οὖτι αὐτῷ Ἀμαλθῆς | βουλαλμηνήρας, οὐτὶ ἔτεα | πεντήκοντα τε καὶ ἑκάτων | Ταρτησοῦ βασιλείωσι.

τὰ πάντα Hermann (ad Viger. 94), who compares ἀπεθανοῦν τὰ πάντα (‘in all’) εἰς καὶ ἑνεκέκοιτα, ix. 70. 8, and says that τὰς, without the article, when joined with numerals, either = e quaque generis (see 50. 1, note), or totas, implying that nothing is to be subtracted from the number. But this latter is prob. the meaning here (Schw.). τὰ πάντα (in universum, ‘in all’) implies that the number is small, considering the circumstances (cf. 214. 4); whereas πάντα (= integros, totos, ‘full 120 years’) implies that the number is a large one. Cf. εἰκοσι πάντα, Hom. Od. v. 244. Apparently there is no other instance of this use in Hdt.

§ 3. οὕτω δὴ τι Cf. 185. 4. ὡς... ἐκλείσομεν] ὡς (= ὡστε in later Greek: 199. 8, n.) with the indic. is not uncommon in Hdt., who apparently makes no distinction between this use and that of the infinitive. Cf. ἐκεχερώθη οὕτω ὡστε εἴρων, vi. 83. 1. In later Greek the indic. is only used where ὡστε may be rendered by qua re. Klotz, Devar. 772.

ὁ Μηδος] i. 112. 3, n.

Τὸν Μῆδον] Taken apart from the context this might refer to Cyrus, or might simply mean the Persian people (69. 2). For the inaccurate use of Μῆδος, cf. 206. 1; Thuc. i. 69. 9: above, 157. 1, note. But this involves a chronological difficulty, to obviate which it has been proposed to read τὸν Λυδίων. See on this point Grote, H. G. III. 174 (iv. 274), n.

περιβαλλομένας] ‘Wherewith to throw a wall round their town,’ Compare the construction of περιβαλλομένων, 215. 3. The infinitive denotes the result or purpose of the main verb (cf. 32. 8), like ἤδεσσε Θυρέων οἰκεῖν, Thuc. ii. 27. 3.
δολγοι σταδιοι εισι τουτο δε παν λιθων μεγαλων και ευ
164 συναρμοσμενων. Το μεν δη τειχος του Φωκαιεως τροτην τουφεδε εξεπουθη. ο δε αρσαγος ος επιθλασε την οπτατην, επιολορκες αυτως, προισχομενος επεια ος οι καταχρε, ει βοηνονται φωκαιες προμαχεων ενα μουνον του
tειχος ερειπαι και οικημα εν κατηρωσαι. οι δε φωκαιες, περιπερικετουτες τη δουλοσυνη, εφασαν θελειν βουλευσασαι ημερην μιαν, και επειτα υποκρινεσαι. εν δε βουλευονται αυτοι, απαγαγεν εκεινων εκελευν την οπτατην απο του
tειχος. ο δε αρσαγος εφη ειδεναι μεν ευ τα εκεινωι μελ-3
λων ποιειν, δως δε σφι παρειναι βουλευσασαι. 'Εν δε
αν δε αρσαγος απο του τειχος απήγαγε την οπτατην, οι
φωκαιες εν τουτω καταστασαντες τας πεντηκοντερους,
εσθεμενοι τεκνα και γυναικες και επιπλα παντα, προς δε
και τα αγαλματα τα εκ των ιρων και τα άλλα αναβηματα,
χωρος δ τι χαλκος ή λιθος ή γραφη ην, τα δε άλλα παντα
εσθεντες, και αυτοι εσβαντες, επλεον επι Χιον. την δε
165 φωκαιην ερμωθεισαν άνδρων έσχον οι Περσαι. οι φω-
καιες, επεη τε σφι Χιον τως νησους τας ουνοσυας καλεο-
μενας ουκ έβονυτον ονεομενοι πωλειν, δειμαινοντες μη
αι μεν εμπορων γενονται, η δε αυτων νησος αποκλησοθη

§ 4. ειτον] The verbs ειναι, γεγ-
νησθαι, καλεσθαι often agree in
number with the predicate (νεκ. 5;   
ii. 15. 7), just as their participles
agree in gender with the predicate
(68. 4).

τουτο δε] 'As if before we had
had τουτο μεν, instead of καλ.' Ab.
But though we often find τουτο δε in
this sense after μεν (v. 45. 1; viii.
60. 5), prob. here τουτο simply = το
τειχος. Supply esti.

ch. 164. § 1. τουφεδε] See note.
ch. 101.

καταρωσαι] To dedicate (to the
king in token of submission). Cf.
92. 5, where though the word can
be taken in its literal sense it vir-
tually = 'confiscate.'

§ 4. τας παντας] 'Their galleys:
those mentioned above, 163. 2.

χωρος δ τη] More usually χωρος
η, as at ii. 77. 8.

χαλκος η λιθος] These would be
left behind owing to their weight.
The pictures were prob. on walls
and so could not be moved (Bähr),
although Greek artists seem gene-
 rally to have painted upon panels
(πινακες).

τα δε άλλα] δε resumes after the
intervening clause, χωρος κ.τ.λ.

ch. 165. § 1. ουνοσυας] Be-
tween Chios and the main land:
hence αποκλησοθη below.

ουνοσυας] empturientibus (68.
6).

η δε αυτων νησος] In Attic
prose we should prob. have had η
dε νησος αυτων, the rule being that
in the case of reflexives (εμαυρολ
&c.) the genitive immediately fol-
to touto eiskea, proo taute ois Fovkaioses etelkolwto eis Kyn-

von. eiv gar ti Kynio eiskei eteis probetron touton ek a
theopropov anasthasanta polin, ti ouvoma hiv 'Alalix.
'Arganviou hiv de thmikaata hiv teletetitekee. stelomeno 3
de epi ti Kynvon, prwta katableusantes eis ti Fovkain,
katephneuan touton Perseon eis th philaxi, efrouree para-
dexamenv parada Arpagon ti polin. meta de, ois touto phi 4
exeragasto, eposunanto ischuras katara tos upoleiptomenos

ewnton to stoix. proo de tautei kai mubron stheron
kateponitousan, kai amosan phi prin eis Fovkain hxi, prin
h touton mubron touton anafhivai. Stelomeno de auton epi 5
ti Kynvon, upht hmsia tos aston elabe podos te kai
oikto tos polios kai ti hdeon tos xwrois. vneodrikoi de
gevomeno aptpleioo upisov eis ti Fovkain. o de auton 6
to orismen epiflasov, aerhantes eis tos Oinousoeis epleov.

166 'Epete te de eis ti Kynvon aptikouto, oukeon kouhi meta touton
probetron aptikomenon ev' eteia tente, kai ira einoudrasanto.
kai, hgon gar dei kai efereon toutos perioikous kapanas, stear-

flows the article, while in the case
of personal pronouns (mu, &c.) it
either precedes the article, or follows
the subst. without any repetition of
the article (Krug.). But several
exceptions to this rule are to be
found in Hdt. Cf. tov adelphon
eon, II. 107. 1: de mev auton
pathe, II. 133. 2. So too the par-
titive genitive auton is frequently
inserted after the article (often also
in Attic). Cf. 98. 8; 143. 1. In
most of the exceptions, as here, the
insertion of the genitive 'is at any
rate softened by the addition of a
conjunction,' and as regards Hdt.
we may compare his fondness for
placing 'a sort of possessive dative'
between the article and the subst.
(I. 4, n.).
Kynvon] The Greek name for
Corsica.
§ 2. anasthasanta] Either 'had
set up a state for themselves,' or
more prob.) 'had turned out the
(previous) settlers of a state for
themselves' (i.e. in order to settle
there themselves). Cf. anastatos,
155. 3; anastasas, IX. 73. 2; anas-
tatos, IX. 106. 2. Greek colonies
seldom settled on entirely new
ground. On either interpretation
the use of the middle voice is un-
usual. But Abicht's conjecture ane-
khtasanta (which would = 'had re-
covered') is inadmissible.

thmikaata] i.e. at the time when
the Phocaenians deserted Phocaea.
§ 4. mubron stheron] Horace
does not follow Hdt.'s account very
closely:—'sed juremus in haec: simul
imis saxa renarint Vadis levata, ne
redire sit nefas,' Ep. xvi. 25.

anafhivai] must be taken transi-
tively: 'till they had found and
produced the mass of iron.' Blakes-
ley. Krug. reads anastophenai (II.
15, 4), others anafanai.
§ 5. podos te kai oikto] 'A
pitiful yearning for.' 'They became
homesick,' Grote.

Ch. 166. § 2. efereon] properly
would only apply to things, ἡγού to persons: but the two verbs together = διήρπατον. Compare the old Border word ‘to lift’ (= to plunder), which still survives in the term ‘shoplifting.’


Τύρσηνολ] Prob. the inhabitants of Agylla (167. 2), which was exactly opposite the settlement of Alalia. The Carthaginians had colonies in Corsica (vii. 165. 1).

§ 3. τὸ Σαρδόνιον κ. π.] That to the south and west of Sardinia: distinct from the Tyrrenian sea (Tuscum mare, Livy V. 33. 6) which lay between the islands and Italy, and from the Libyan sea which included the two Syrtides and the waters along the African coast to the eastward.

τῇ ναυμ.] The engagement implied in στρατευόμενα, ἕπταν above (cf. 80. 6). This cannot be the one mentioned by Thuc. (i. 13. 8), since Massilia was prob. founded about 600 B.C.

Καθισὺν] As we talk of Dutch courage, French leave &c. See L. and S. Lex. With τίς cf. τῶν 74. 7, n.


dιεφθάρησαν] Were sunk or waterlogged: for διαθύρησαν = κατάδυσα (Thuc. 1. 50. 1; Arnold’s note).

ἀχρηστοι] ‘Disabled.’ Thuc. vii. 34. 5, τῶν μὲν Κορυθέων ἑτέροι πρέπει διαθύρησαν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυσαν μὲν οὐδεμία ἀπλῶς, εἶτα δὲ τίνες ἀπλοὶ (= unseaworthy) ἐγένοντο.

ἀπεστράφατο] Bent back, i. e. forced upwards. So of the neck of an animal about to be sacrificed, iv. 188.

§ 5. ἐγένοντο] ‘Became able,’ after being repaired.

ἀφέντες τὴν Κ.] ‘Let C. go,’ i.e. gave up their plan of settling in the island. Or very possibly the phrase refers to the fact that land appears to recede, as one sails away from it. If so, the metaphor seems to come from the idea of casting off a boat in tow. Somewhat similar are ἀναρχύναι τὴν, Plat. Protag. 338 Α; ‘abscondimus arces,’ Virg. Aen. III. 291: both used of ships at sea.

CH. 167. § 1. Παλαιὸς τῆς κ. τ. λ.] The assumption of a lacuna (e. g. that διεφθάρησαν οἱ τῆς Τυρσηνολ has dropped out after Τυρσηνολ in the text) is unsatisfactory; but the sentence is obscure. Schw. takes αὐτῶν after πλεῖον—‘divided more
prisoners than the Phocaeans did.' More prob. αὐτῶν is the paritive gen., πολλῷ πλείους being added for the sake of greater accuracy after τῶν ἀνδρῶν above (Bähr). On this view πλείους = 'more of them than escaped,' for which we should rather have expected τῶν πλείους. For ἔλαχον Bähr unnecessarily proposes ἔλαβον. Cf. ἔδουμα διὸ ἔλαχον γε (of prisoners, as well as booty), Hom. Π. ix. 367. Tr. 'as for the crews of the water-logged ships, at least a far greater number of them than escaped, the Carthaginians and Tyrrenhians each received their share of them by lot, and these they landed on the shore and stoned to death.'

§ 2. ἄφωνητα] 'Palsied.'

§ 3. τῶν Δελφών] Niebuhr concludes from this that Agylla had not yet become Caere. See Dict. Geogr. Caere.

[ναγιθωνυ] sc. ός ἄρωσι (II. 44. 6).

[σφα] = the dead Phocaeans.

§ 4. τόλιν] 'Proleptic, for the site on which they afterwards placed the city: cf. Μέμφιν, ii. 99. 3.' Kr. More prob. the meaning is that they seized a town belonging to the Oenotrii (165. 2, n.).

[ἤτε] 7. 4. n. 'Probably they were here joined by the Colophonian philosopher and poet Xenophon, from whom the Eleatic ('Τέγη became 'Ελεά, 'Βαλίς) school of philosophy took its rise.' Grote.

§ 5. τῶν Κύρων] Cyrus was a son of Heracles. Stein suggests an allusion to the Cyrus addressed in the Elegies of Theognis; but these seem not to have been written much before 500 B.C. Müll. Gr. Lit. i. 162.

[ἑρικές] i.e. in the βεορδίων mentioned 165. 2.

[ἱρν] is pred. Posidonia was the earlier name of Paestum.

κτίσα] as applied to the hero would = ἱδροια (172. 3). Cf. ἱροι τοῦ στα την χώραν και την πόλιν ἱδρύμενοι, Lycurgus, 147. 43 (Bekk.).

Ch. 168. ὀχυρώ] 'A portion of them must have remained, since the town appears in after-times (VI. 10.

10
πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θηρίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐκτισαν πόλεις Ἀβδήρας τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαδομένους Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόντιτο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἐθνικῶν ἐξελάθετες τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηνων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήρουσι ὡς ἡμῶς ἔχει.

169 Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν Ιώνων μοῦνοι, τὴν δουλούπην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐξελάπτων τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ιωνες, πληίω Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπεκέντρο Ἀρπάγαρ, κατάπερ οἱ ἐκλυπόντες, καὶ ἀνδρεὶς ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ, περὶ τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς ἔκαστος μαχομένου ἐσοφόκλεντες δὲ καὶ ἀλώτες ἔμεινον κατὰ χώρην ἐκαστοί, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλησίων ὁ δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι ἠρηται, αὐτῷ Κύριοι ὀρκισάμενοι, ἡγιαζόν ήγον. Οὔτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνία ἐἐδιδολωτο. ὡς δὲ τούς ἐν τῇ ῥήτερῳ Ἰωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπάγαρ, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ιωνες, καταρροδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας ἴστοι καὶ τηροῦν Κύριοι τὸν Κυρίον καὶ ἄλλους γυμνοῦς αὐθέντο ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυθάνομαι γνώσθην Βίαντα ἀνδρα Πηρυνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωνικὴ χρησιμοτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρέχει ἂν σφί εὐδαιμονεῖν Ἑλληνικὸν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκείνες κωνῖστα στόλῳ Ἰωνας αἰρεθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῆ, καὶ ἠπείτα πόλιν μίαν κτίσει τῶν Ἰωνων. καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθεῖσα σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονεῖσθαι, νήσων τε ἀπασείων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἀρχοντας ἄλλων, μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ιωνία ὡς ἐφὶ ἐνοράν ἐλευθερίῃν ἐτί

8. 3; Thuc. vili. 16. 1; 20. 2) still peopled and still Hellenic. Grote. οὖν ἀπωνήτῳ] Homeric: μοῦνοι ἐμ' ἐν μεγάροις τεκὼν λίθον, οὐδ' ἀπωνήτῳ. Od. xvi. 120. τιμᾶς] Cf. ὡς ἦρων τιμᾶς δεδώκασι (of Brasidas), Thuc. v. 11. 1. Ch. 169. § 1. έκαστος] refers to each individual citizen; ἐκαστοί (below), to each individual state.

κατὰ χώρην] Not the same as ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. See 17. 4, n. § 2. ἦς καὶ πρότ.] 141. 5. οὕτω Κ.] Cyrus is opposed to his subordinates, Mazares and Harpagus.

τὸ δεύτερον] The first time was by Croesus (6. 3; 28).

οἱ τῶν νήσους [ἐ.] i. e. the Chians and the Lesbians. The strait between Chios and the main-land is only about four miles broad in the narrowest part. The Samians were independent till the time of Darius (III. 120. 4).

Ch. 170. § 1. παραφέ] See 9. 5, n.

§ 2. μεγίστην] It appears that Sardinia is actually 'the largest of the Mediterranean islands, though the difference between it and Sicily is trifling.' Smyth's Mediterranean, p. 28.

ἄλλων] i.e. the barbarian islanders.
§ 3. ἀνδρὸς Μιλ.] Yet Thales has already been mentioned twice as ᾿Αθιησίου (74. 3; 75. 3). Cf. II. 143. 1, n. Clearly the work was never thoroughly revised.

τὸ ἀνήκαιθι] 'By descent.' The grammarians say that Hdt. uses this word of time, while in Attic it has only a local signification (Bühr). But in these and similar passages the meaning is prob. local: = if we start from the top of the pedigree (Π. 91. 7, n.).

Φοίνικοι] Thales was a descendant of Cadmus, who came from Tyre into Boeotia (Π. 49. 7), and whose descendants the Καθεόλια emigrated to Miletus (I. 146. 3).

§ 4. μηδὲν ἐσον] With ὀίκεομένας,—'though inhabited all the same.' These words mark the difference between this plan and that of Bias, above. Thales proposed merely one central seat of government, not one large πόλις within which every citizen should reside. Compare Thuc.'s account of Attica (Π. 15). ᾿Η ᾿Αττικὴ ἐς Θηρεία ἐν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκεντ...περὶ δὲ Θηρείου ἐβασιλευοντα καταλύεισται τῶν ἀλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἁρχὰς ἐό τιν ὡς οὕτως, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρωταγόρως ἐξωκυεῖ πάντας. Hdt. uses the Athenian term δῆμος as a well-known expression (cf. 59. 8), but we have τῶν δήμων καλοκενέων, Thuc. Π. 19. 2.

CH. 171. § 1. Ἀιλέας] Hdt. says nothing about their subjugation. He dwells on the conquest of Ionia, because he regards the Ionic revolt and the assistance sent by the Athenians as the immediate cause of the Persian war (Π. 28. 1; 97. 6).

§ 2. Κάρας μὲν] Answered by οἷς ἐς Καυνόν. 172. 1

ἐκ τῶν νήσων] The Cyclades: cf. Thuc. Π. 8. 2, 3; 5. 1. 'In Homer both Leleges and Carians appear as auxiliaries of the Trojans (Π. 428).'

ὄσον καὶ ἔως] 'As far back as the very furthest period extends to which hearsay can carry me.' καὶ either goes with ἔως (like καὶ ἥμετρ., Π. 127. 2), or else belongs to the whole sentence, and especially to the emphatic word, μακρότατον.

ἀκοῇ] Hdt. does not accept the accounts of Minos as thoroughly historical (cf. Π. 122. 3). Π. Thuc. says of Minos, καλατατός ἐν ἀκοῇ ἑσεῖν (Π. 4. 1).
οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λό-5 
φοι ἐπιδέοσαν Κάρης εἰς οἱ καταδέχαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς 
ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήνα ποιεσθαι. καὶ ὅχινα ἀπτίσι οὕτῳ εἰς 6 
ὁ ποιησμένοι πρῶτον τεὼς δὲ ἀνευ ὅχινων ἐφόρεοι τὰς 
ἀσπίδας πάντες, οὕτε ἐσέθαν ἀπτίσι χρέεσθαι, τελαμωσὶ 
σκυτίνουσι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τούτῳ αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἀρι- 
στεροίσι δύμοις περικείμενοι. Μετὰ δὲ, τούς Κάρας χρώνῃ 7 
ὑστερον πολλὸς Δωρίδες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν 
νῆσων καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἑπερών ἀπίκαυτο. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ 8 
Κάρας οὕτω Κρήτης λέγουσι γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε 
ὁμολογεούσι τούτους οἱ Κάρες· ἄλλα νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐων 
τοὺς εἶναι αὐτοχθόνες ἤπειροτάς, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ 
ἀεὶ διαχρεμένους τῷπερ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύει δὲ ἐν Μυλάσσοι 9 
Διὸς Καρην ἰχών ἄρχαίων, τοῦ Μυσοῦτο μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι 

όηκλημοντες] ‘steering them from side to side.’ So νυμᾶω (which is also used of steering, e.g. ὀλακα νυμίων, Aesch. Sept. 3): οἵ’ ἐπὶ 
δεδι οίδ’ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ νυμησαί βων (βων = shield of bull’s hide), Hom. 
Π. vii. 238.

τοις ἀριστ.] Since the shield was always held on the left arm (Thuc. v. 71. 1), this must mean 
that the belt went over the right shoulder, and so surrounded, as it were, the left.

περικείμενοι = περιτεθεμένοι (cf. 
14. 3), sc. τὰς ἀσπίδας, like ‘laevo 
suspenisi loculos tabulamque lacer- 
to,’ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 4.

§ 8. Κρήτες] They would be 
likely to know, because Minos was 
king of Crete.

αὐτόκθονες] A favourite national 
bust: cf. Π. 2. 1; VII. 161. 6; 
VIII. 73. 1.

τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ] i.e. that they had 
never been called Leleges (§ 2).
κλειστος, ως κασυνθητοις ενος τοιοι Καρσης. των γαρ Δυ- 
δων και των Μυσιων ληγουσι ειναι Καρση αδελφους. του- 
toioi meν δι μετεστι' οσοι δε, εωτες αλλον έθνεσ, δομ-
172 γλωσσων τοιοι Καρση εγένοντο, τουτοις δε ου μετα. Οι 
dε Καινιοι αυτοχθονες, δοκειν εψοι, εισιν αυτοι μεντοι εκ 
Κρητης φασι ειναι. προσκεχαρηκασι δε γλωσσαν μην προς 
το Καρνιον έθνος, η οι Καρες προς το Καυνικων τωτο γαρ 
ουκ έχον ατρεκεως διακριναι. νομοις δε χρεωνται κεχυ-
ριμενουσι τοιλον των των άλλων ανθρωπων και Καρσην. 
toιοι γαρ καλλιστους έστιν κατ' ηλικιιν τε και φιλοτη 
eιλάδων συγγνώσασαι ες ποσιν, και ανδρασι και γυναιξι και 
παιδι. ιδρυθετον δε σφι ιρων ξεινικων, μετεπετα ως σφι 3 
απεδοξε (εδοξε δε τοιοι πατριωτε σοινων χρασαι θεσι). 
ενδύντες τα άπλα άπαντες Καινιοι ήβιδον, τύπτοντες δού-
ρασι των ήρα, μεχρι ουρων των Καλνινικων επυπτον, και 
έφασαν εκβάλλειν τους ξεινικων θευς. και ουτει μεν τρο-
173 ποιοι τοιοιοι χρεωνται. Οι δε Δυκιοι εκ Κρητης τωρ-

§ 10. τούτοις μέν] As if δου 
μεν καλλιστωι εισι τοιοι Καρση had 
preceded—τούτοις repeating Μυ-
σουις μεν και Λυδοις above. See 
113. 1, note.
δοσοι [8] e.g. the Cauknians (172. 1).
Ch. 172. § 8. δοσκειν [μοι] 'In 
your opinion at least.' Cf. την πρότειν 
eιναι (153. 6, n.); εκεων ειναι, 'will-
gingly at least,' VII. 104. 3. These 
phrases seem to be derived from the 
use of the infinitive to denote limi-
tation (e.g. καλος δραν), and imply 
a restriction in the action of the 
main verb owing to a particular 
mode of treating the matter. More 
commonly we find ως before the 
infinite (34. 1; 131. 1; II. 8. 4; 
125. 5; 135. 2) to denote a sub-
jective point of view (Madv.), i.e. 
to mark more clearly that the 
restriction in question is nothing more 
than an idea existing in the mind 
of the speaker or writer—is the 
result of his point of view. Other 
explanations are (1) that ως = 'as 
far as,' (2) that it stands for ωςει 
(see 199. 8, n., and compare the 
use of ωσει at II. 10. 2):
§ 2. των τω αλλων] = των γομων 
tων τω αλλων. Cf. εκεινον, II. 127. 
2; των πατρω, 134. 1. 'This form 
of brachylogy is especially common 
in the case of words denoting re-
ssemblance and difference.' Ab.
II. 112. 6; 148. 3.
κατ' ηλ. και φιλ. [As age and 
friendship determine.' i.e. φιληκε 
and φιλο would naturally join the 
same party.
§ 3. [ονων] perhaps = 'temples,' 
νομιων being very frequently used in 
this connection (II. 42. 1; 44. 1; 
182. 3). Schw.
ατιδοξει] Sc. μη χρασθων (152. 
4, n.).
ηβιδον] (formed on the analogy 
of αγελθον, II. 93. 2) = 'the young 
men by companies,' ηβι denoting 
all who can bear arms.
οβρων] Distinguish between οβ-
ρων, 'frontiers,' and οβρων, 'moun-
tains' (110. 3).
χαίον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην ἐξέχω τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι. διενεχέσθεντοι δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείης τῶν Εὐρώπων παϊδῶν, Σαρπτέδων τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτῶν τε Σαρπτέδων καὶ τοὺς στασιῶτας αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκουστο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ ὅπως Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὐτὴ τὰ παλαιὰ ὅπως Μιλυάς οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε ὁλομεν ἐκάλεοντο, τέως μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν Σαρπτέδων ἤρχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐκάλεοντο, τὸ περὶ τῇ ἡνεκαντῳ ὁμόνωμα, καὶ νῦν ἐτι καλέονται υπὸ τῶν περιοικῶν οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. ὡς δὲ εἶ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Παν-4 δίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ ὠδος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀγεώς, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπτέδων, ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν Λύκον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νό-5 μοι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖς, τὰ δὲ Καρικοίς χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τὸν ἄγον νεομίκαισι, καὶ οὐδαμοὶ ἅλλοις συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέοντο ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἴρομένου δὲ ἐτέρον τοῦ πλησίου, τὸς εἶπ, 6 καταλέξει ἑωτοῦ μητρόθεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς

Ch. 173. § 1. γὰρ] The clause with γὰρ explains how it was that there was room for the Lycians, as well as for the Caunians and the Leleges.

tὸ παλαιὸν] Before the Trojan war. See the account of the successive colonizations of Crete, vii. 171.

βάρβαροι] The Lycian language, ‘while undoubtedly Indo-European in type, is utterly unlike the Greek.’ Rawlinson.

§ 3. οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι] i.e. οἱ νῦν Μ. τότε] when Lycia was called Μιλύαι (Böhr). Homer speaks of the Solymi in Lycia. II. vi. 184.

§ 4. τῶς μὲν] ‘For ἔως,’ Kr. Cf. IV. 165. 8, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, τῶς μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρβῃ διαγατό, ἡ δὲ ἐξέχε κ.τ.λ., where we should certainly translate ‘whilst (quamdiu), whereas at i. 11. 5; 84. 5; 94. 3, we should rather translate ‘for a time’ (aliquamdiu). But the meaning of τῶς is really, the same in both cases, and the passages exemplify the change from coordinate (paratactic) to subordinate constructions (cf. ii. 93. 8, n.), the earlier τῶς μὲν—τῶς δὲ being gradually supplanted by ἔως—τῶς. In Homer we have ἔως μὲν—τῶς (τόφρο) δὲ, and sometimes ἔως μὲν without any apodosis expressed.

ἡνεκαντῳ] = brought with them from Crete (cf. 57. 4).

οἱ Λύκιοι] virtually = now that they have become Lycians. On the obelisk at Xanthus (176. 4. n.) the Lycians in the Lycian part of the inscription are called Tramilae. Fellows’ Lycia, p. 274.

§ 4. καὶ ὠδος] As well as Sarpedon (§ 1).

αὐτῷ χρόνῳ] ‘in course of time,’ = Att. χρόνῳ.

§ 7. εἶν] As if εἴρομένου were the imperfect participle. Kritt. reads ἔστι.

καταλέξει] ‘He will recite his pedigree in the female line:’ = γενεϊ.
μητέρας. καὶ ἂν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δοῦλη συνοίκηση, γεν—
καὶ τὰ τέκνα νενόμιστα ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος
αὐτῶν, γυναικα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἀτιμα τὰ τέκνα
γινεται.

174. Οἱ μὲν νυν Κάρες, οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργων ἀποδεξάμενοι, ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κάρες ἀποδε-
ξάμενοι οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὁσοὶ Ἔλληνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην
οἰκεύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπο-κοῦν Κνίδου, τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐστὶντον,
τὸ δὲ Τρώπιων καλέται. ἀργυρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου ἐς τῆς
Βυβασσίης, ἐσόμενοι τε πάσης τῆς Κνίδης, πλῆθν ὀλγής,
περιπότου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέων ἀνέμων ὁ Κερα-
μεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργης, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε
cαι Ὁρόδου θάλασσα). τὸ δὲν ὃλγην τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τα
ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὄρυσαν οἱ Κνίδοι, ἐν δῷ Αρπάγας τὴν
Ἰωνίνη κατεστρέφητο, θουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι.
ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσα σφὶ ἐγένετο τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνίδη χώρη ἐς τὴν
τὴν 4 ἡπειροῦν τελευτᾶ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἱσθμὸς ἐστὶ τῶν ὄρυσσων. καὶ 5

λογίσει ἐστωτὸν (II. 143. 1). Compare the use of καταλέγειν, VI. 53.
1, 3. The future denotes a regular
custom. Cf. ἀψωταί, 198. 3; ἄρο-
δοκιμαῖοι, 199. 8; γεινεῖται, II. 39. 5; ἄρο-
δοκιμαῖοι, 41. 3 (Kr.).

μητροθέω of the metronymic: cf. πατροθέω οὐσομάτων, III. 1. 7. 'In
the funereal inscriptions copied from
the monuments of these (Lycian)
cities all the pedigrees of the de-
ceased with one exception are de-
erived from their mothers: the ex-
ception is on the tomb of ...... a
foreigner.' Fellows' Lycia, p. 276.

Ch. 174. § 2. ἄλλοι] Among
them the Halicarnassians.

τὰ For ἂ (sc. χώρη), owing to the
attraction of Τρώπιων.

ὅ] ὅ is inserted because the
name has been mentioned before
(144. 1). The clauses which follow
do not run easily owing to the gen-
tives absolute, but there is no au-
thority for ὅ, which Bekker inserts
after Ἐνιδίου.

§ 3. ἀργυρεῖς] agrees with τῆς
Κνίδης. The simplest explanation
is that Τρώπιων here (= ἡ Κνίδη,
= ἡ σφετέρη χώρη) is the western
half of the long peninsula, which
terminates in Cnidus, while the By-
bessian Chersonese is the land to
the east, being itself also a peninsula
between Τρώπιων and the main-land.
The attempted canal would thus lie
between the two peninsulas. Diat.,
Geogr. Busassus.

τὸ ὄλγυν τοῦτο] τοῦτο refers to
τὸν ὀλγὴν above.

δον τὸ ἐνι] Homeric: δον τ' ἐνὶ
δοῦροι ἐρῳδῇ γιγαντᾶ. II. XV.
358. For δον τ' (=quantum fere,
circa), cf. 126. 1.

§ 4. ἐντὸς δὲ] 'Thus all their
territory came within the isthmus.'
Or perhaps: 'within the isthmus
thus all became their own.' ἐντὸς
from the point of view of a Cnidian
(6. 1, n.).

γαρ] gives the reason for τὰςα.

τελευτῇ ἐσ] must = 'ends at' (not
δὴ πολλὴ χειρὶ ἐργαζόμενον τῶν Κνίδιοιν, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι καὶ θεότερον ἐφαίνοντο τυπρόσκειται οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἑπεμπότον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεουργούς ἐπειρησμόνοις τὸ αὐτός. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφὶ, 6 ὡς αὐτόν Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρῆ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τὸν τάδε'

Ἰσθμοῖν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μὴδ' ὁρύσσετε.
Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' θηκε νῆσον, κ' εἴ βυόυλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθιῆς χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀργυμάτως ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρτάγραφος, ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ 175 σφεν ἀυτοὺς παρέδεαν. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηδασιίζες οἰκούντες. ὑπὲρ Ἀλκαρησοῦν μεσόγαιαν τοῦτοι δοκοῦ τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτίθεον ἔσσεθαι, αὐτοῖς ἵ τοι τοίς περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερεία τῆς Ἀθηναίων πώγων μέγαν ἵσχε. τρίς. σφὶ τούτῳ ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρῆν ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοι το τέτοχον 2 χρῶν Αρτάγραφος, καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχου πλείστα, υἱοὶ τεχνίσαντες, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστὶ Λίδη. Πηδασιίζες μὲν νῦν χρῶν 3

'ends towards') just as ἄρχεται ἐκ (§ 3) = 'begins at' (cf. iv. 39. 2, 3). Hence ἴσχερων is here used of what has been called above a peninsula (χερσονήσου τῆς Βυσσασσίας).

§ 5. τῶν Κνίδων ... ἵστεμιν].
Cf. 3. 3, n.

§ 6. ὡς αὐτόν Ἐν. λ.] These words seem to imply a doubt as to the genuineness of the oracle. Certainly the metre is different from that of the other oracles quoted by Hdt. (47. 4, n.).

α' ὡς αὐτόν Κν. λ.] Potuit etiam el κεν dici. Il. xxiii. 526, el δέ κ' ἐπὶ προτέρω γένετο ὁμοῖοι ἀμφοτέρους | τῷ καὶ μὲν παρέλασε. Recentor usus eo tantum ab epicō diffret, quod particular dν in secundaria sententia non aliter quam si necessaria est addit.' Herm. de part. dν, 1. 10. By 'necessaria' Hermann means that dν is joined to el with the subjunctive, because there is no dν in the apodosis, to show that the sentence is conditional: whereas when el takes the optative or the imperfect or aor. indicative, there is no need to join dν with it, because the conditional character of the sentence is sufficiently marked by dν in the apodosis.

CH. 175. § 1. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηθ... ὡς τῶν Κνίδων... οὗτοι] The subject of the story is first introduced in an independent clause, and then the story itself is told:—a common Epic formula. Cf. ἐστι τῆς ... ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην, 67. 4.

ὑπάχει = φασί (III. 12. 5), or φεῖ (viii. 104. 2). Hom. Il. xiii. 595. τῶν δ' αἱ μὲν λεπτὰ σθηναν ἔχουν, οἱ δὲ χρίνομεν | εἰσ' ὁμίλων.

τρίς] The same story is told, viii. 104. 2, almost in the same words. But there the occurrence is said to have happened only twice (δūς ἕδη). This implies either an interpolation or a want of revision (170. 3, n.). If the latter is the explanation it would seem that the passage in Bk. viii. was written before this one. The asyndeton adds emphasis.
176 ἐξαιρέθησαν. Δύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐσ τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἠλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγός τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξέποντες καὶ μαχόμενοι, ὁλὺγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς, ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκυντο: ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατείληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναίκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆρξαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καλέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξῆλθον ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν 3 Δυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὅγδοκοντα ἵστιέων, εἰς ἑπετίλυσιν. αἱ δὲ ὅγδοκοντα ἱστία ἄντων ἔχου ὁ Ἀρπαγός. παραπτήσισθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Καινοὺν ἐσχέ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καινοῦ τοὺς Δυκίους ἐμμεῖσαντο τὰ πλέων.

177 Τὸ μὲν νῦν κατὸ τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀρπαγὸς ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, ἰ τὰ δὲ ἀνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πάν ἔθνοι καταστρεφόμενος

CH. 176. § 1. τὸ Ξάνθιον πτ.] i. e. the plain watered by the river Xanthus, on which the town of the same name (the chief town of the Lycians) was situated.

ὑπεξόντες] ‘Coming forth suddenly.’ Generally ὑπεξ- denotes giving ground, withdrawing (73. 2; 156. 1; IV. 120. 1). But ὑπέ-, ‘secretly,’ might fairly denote a sudden sortie. Bekker reads ὑπεξόντες, and ὑπεξέλθοντες, § 2.

ἀρετὰς] ‘brave deeds.’

κατείλθοντες] Added epexegetically, to express the result or purpose (32. 1). Xanthus made an equally desperate resistance to the Romans under Brutus during the civil war, B. C. 42.

§ 3. τῶν δὲ νῦν Δ.] Either ‘of the present dwellers in Lycia, although they assert that they are (real) Xanthians,’ i. e. are descended from the former Xanthians: or (more prob.) Δυκίων is pred., and occupies its regular place between the article and participle: ‘of the Xanthians who at the present day claim to be Lycians.’ The position of εἶναι makes the sentence rather involved, but not more so than (e.g.) at 60. 6; 66. 1.


ἐκδημούσων] It is still a Lycian custom to leave the low lands (πεδίον, above) during the summer, and go to live in the cooler and more healthy hill-country.

§ 4. δ ’Ἀρπαγός] In the inscription on the obelisk (a cast of which is now in the British Museum) discovered at Xanthus by Fellows (Lycia, p. 492) mention is made of a son of Harpagus in both the Greek and Lycian character. This would seem to imply that the government of Lycia remained in the family of Harpagus for several generations. The date of the inscription is variously put at B. C. 466 (Rawlinson) and 376 (Bähr). A Harpagus (a Persian) is mentioned as one of the generals of Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 494) in Mysia, vi. 28. 4.

CH. 177. § 1. δύσαστα ἐν.] This strictly only applies to those towns which offered resistance.
Κύρος ἑπεὶ τη τα πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρα ἔτοιής σαι, 'Ασσυρίους ἐπετίθετο. Τῆς δὲ 'Ασσυρίας ἔστι τα μὲν κοι καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πόλις, τὸ δὲ σύνομα μοι στάταταν καὶ ἱσχυρότατον, καὶ ἐσθα σφι, Νιὼν ἀναστάτου γενόμενης, τὰ βασιλικὰ κατεστήμεις, ἦν Βαβυλῶν, ἐνόσα τοιοῦτη δη τῆς πόλεως. ἔστει ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος 3 ἐνόσα μεταποιήσεω ἐκαστὸν ἑκάτον καὶ ἐκατὸν στάδιον, ἐνόσης τεταραγώνου ἑαυτοῦ στάδιον τῆς περίοδον τῆς πόλεως γίνονται συνάπτεις ὑγάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν μὲν γάς ὑπόφοιτον ἑστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. ἐκεκοσμητὸ δὲ ὡς ὅλο πόλισμα τῶν ἑμεῖς ἱδομεν. τάφρος 5

§ 2. τα μὲν νυν...παρήσομεν] i.e. the Bactrians and the Sacae (153. 7).

αὐτοπηγητότατα.] On account of their ἔργα ὑβμαστάτα (see note at the beginning of the book).

χ. 178. § 2. τα μὲν] is answered by τὸ δὲ, but τὰ becomes pleonastic, owing to the insertion of καὶ ἄλλα (cf. 32. 2).

ὁφα] = τοις Ἀσσυριοῖς. Hdt. regards the Babylonians and the Ninevites as forming one nation, and evidently has no idea of the former having joined Cyaxares in the siege of Nineveh (106. 3, n.). His Ἀσσυριοὶ λόγοι were intended to include the history of both (184. 1).

ἡ Βαβυλῶν[.] The past tense implies an extremely altered condition, acc. to Blakelsey, who compares ἐκκόσμητο (§ 4); τετείχοστο (180. 1); διὲ μὲν Μυσίων μικρόν ἤ, Thuc. i. 10. 1. This argument may perhaps be rebutted by appealing to the presents, γίνοται (§ 3), περιβέλει (§ 5: 181. 1), etc. See however 179. 5, n. On the general question of the credibility of Hdt. as regards his account of Babylon, see Grote H. G. π. 472 (π. 395), n.


§ 3. ἐόσον] A strong instance of the irregular use of the gen. abs. (3. 3; π. 134. 1). 'The sentence would be clearer if we had γίνοται ἐκαστὸν μέγαθος ἑστὶ ἐκ. καὶ ἐκ. στάδιον, and we find this construction before ἐσθα σφι, π. 124. 8.' St. The actual length of wall on the north and south sides would prob. be less, since the breadth of the river (180. 1) would have to be deducted.

ὁστοὶ] 'These make altogether 480 furlongs of circuit for the city.'

περιβέλει is the gen. of the thing measured (K. compares τετείχοστα παρασάγγα τῆς ὕδατος, Xen. An. i. 10. 1), and σώλις is the possessive gen. 480 στάδιον = about 55 English miles. Hence Aristotle refuses the name of σώλις to Babylon, — ἐξα περιγραφῆ μᾶλλον ἔδωκεν ἡ σώλις, Pol. iii. 3. 5. Marco Polo describes the palace of the Chinese emperor as 'a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch, each side of the square being eight miles in length,' and close by was a square-shaped city, each side of which was 'neither more nor less than six miles.' He does not say what was the height of the walls. The palace-enclosure contained a large park and camping-ground (Travels, p. 176).

"Τεμπάλας. Π. β." Prob. about 340 English feet. This is certainly the most incredible fact which Hdt. mentions about Babylon. But 'with thirty pyramids in Egypt and the wall of China still existing, who can set bounds to what might be accomplished?"

§ 6. τοῦ μετροῦ 'The medium,' (Π. 32. 8), i.e. the common Greek cubit (60. 5). The royal cubit was so called because it was in use in Persia. It is uncertain whether to διακούσιον is to be supplied μετροῦ or βασιλικῷ (i.e. whether the ratio of the two cubits is that of 24:27, or 21:24). The analogy of 192. 3 is in favour of the former view (St.), but Böckh pronounces for the latter. Cf. Π. 168. 2, n.

CH. 179. § 1. ἢνα = δεκ' or εἴ. Cf. Π. 150. 3; ΙΙ. 6. 2.

§ 2. ὅπερον. ἀμα] 'As fast as they dug.'

"Ἀποτεθηκα" Kiln-baked bricks (Ἀτλ. ὀστρατ. lates coti) are to be distinguished from bricks merely dried in the sun (Ἀτλ. ὕψη, lates caud). Hence Ovid has the sanction of Hdt. for his 'coctilis muris,' Met. iv. 28.

§ 3. "τὸπαττα] 'As mortar,'

"διὰ τρύπανον] 'Every thirtieth course' (Π. 127. 4, n)."

"πλῦνθων] The collective singular. Cf. ἵππος, κάμηλος, Π. 2. 3; κέραμος, ΙΙ. 6. 1; ἐσθής, IV. 203. 6; δύσελιος, Thuc. IV. 90. 2. Layers of reeds are found in the remains of buildings in Babylonia. They were prob. inserted in order to collect and carry off the moisture (St.)."

§ 4. πάρα τὰ ἑσχ. κ. τ. λ.] Being built along each edge of the wall, the chambers opened on to the central passage, so that their fronts faced each other.

"μουνόκολα] This is gen. translated 'one-storied,' but κόλον in Hdt. always = the side or façade of a building, and here prob. the meaning is 'with but a single face.' Each οἰκήματα would have its sides hidden by its neighbours, and the back would be inaccessible and almost invisible owing to its being at the top of the enormous wall. The προμαχώνεως and πύργον, mentioned III. 151. 2; 156. 1, must have risen above these οἰκήματα. Compare Thuc. III. 31. 2—4."
Room to drive round the walls.' St. compares ἀνάβασις, 181. 4; καταβάσας, 186. 5; διαβάσας, 205. 3. Aristoph. has parodied this passage: Ἀν. 1126. The walls of 'Cloudcuckoo-town' were so wide that two chariots could pass drawn by steeds as big as the Trojan horse.

The present can hardly be accurate here, since Darius τὰς πύλας πασας ἀνέκτασε, III. 159. 1. Hence it is doubtful how far the present can be pressed in other cases.

τάσιοι] = 'entirely' (ch. 52), not 'all.'

ἀγαύτες] i.e. of brass. Of this enormous outer wall 'it is agreed by almost all travellers that not a vestige remains.' Rawlinson.

The modern Ἰτ. or Αἰτ. 'There are still bituminous springs.' Dict. Geogr.

' Throws up,' so τὸ ἁμαθίδον (of a volcano), Thuc. III. 18. 4. Cf. διδῷ, 107. 4, n.

Acc. to Hdt. the palace and the temple of Belus were on opposite sides of the river (181. 2). But the ruins seem to be almost entirely on the east side, with the exception of two large mounds, one to the N.W., the other (Birs-i-Nimrud) eight miles to the S.W.


Here the Persian Gulf (1. 2).

§ 5. τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τείχους] 'Now the wall on either side has its arms bent and so is carried down to the river,' τείχος ἐκάτερον is the city-wall on the east and west sides. Those parts of it which come down to the river are called 'elbows' (ἐν' ἄγκυρος τῆς τείχους, Hom. Ἀ. xvi. 702), because they stood at right-angles to the two unbroken sides of the square, which ran parallel with the river.

τοῦ ἄγκ... ἀνάλατοι = τῶν ἄγκ. ἐναλάται τοῦ ἄγκ.

To δὲ δὲ τάξιν] 'From this point the walls make a return which extends along the brink of the river on either side, forming a dike of baked brick.' δὲ τούτον = inwards, towards the city, from the point where the wall reaches the river.
is adverbial (the accus. of reference), and ἐπικαρπιά is the subject of the verb, which however takes the construction of the nearer predicate, αἰμασιά (‘extend along as a dike’). See 163. 4, n., and cf. τὸ μεταξὸς τοῦτο οἱ ἐκκαίδεκα τόξα τῶν φύλαξιν ὀλιγάματα διανεμεμένα ψυκόμετο, Thuc. III. 21. 3, where the construction is exactly parallel.

§ 4. τριμώρφων] ‘Three stories high,’ three roofs or ceilings implying three floors.

[θέλα] The addition of a predicate in agreement with the accus. in this construction is unusual. We should have expected ‘an adverbial expression (e.g. κατά θέλα, in straight lines), like οδός ἐς δὲ τὰς κορφὰς ἀπηγμένα, ii. 28. 2’ (St.). Marco Polo describes the streets in the great Chinese city as ‘so straight that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates he can see the gate opposite to him on the other side of the city.’ Travels, p. 183.

[τα τα ἄλλα] Those parallel to the river.

[ἀκούσας = φιέρωσας (II. 121. 5, n.)] § 5. καὶ αὐτά] As well as the main gates (179. 5). καὶ αὐτά, as well as the λαύρα (ἐπικαρπιά ὁδοῦ).

[ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν π.] ‘Leading right down to the river’ (by flights of steps: 186. 5).

CH. 181. § 1. τοῦτο τὸ τ. ] The αἰμασιά on each side of the river is called a curissae, ‘breast-work,’ because it guarded the most vital part (cf. 191. 8). Within this came the inner wall (περιβόλος) in each quarter, like a κιθών worn under the δώρη. Cf. τειχῶν κιθῶν, ‘covering walls,’ vii. 139. 3.

[στενότερον] This is usually rendered ‘of smaller circuit.’ But it clearly = ‘of less thickness.’ The top of the city wall being used for traffic (179. 4), the same epithet is applied to a smaller wall which would be applied to a smaller road. So στενότερη ἀσβολή (of Thermopylae), vii. 175. 2; στενῶν ὁδῶν κολῆς, Hom. I. xxiii. 419.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ...μὲν] μὲν is a correction for ήν (one MS. ἔν), a form of the imperf. which nowhere else occurs in Hdt., though the MSS. read ήν at 196. 5, and ήν occurs several times in Hom. (e.g. II. 411).

Δίδο Βηθλου] Hdt. identifies the Babylonian Bel (like the Libyan Ammon, ii. 55. 4) with Zeus. See ii. 50. 1, n.

[φῶν] This denotes the whole of the sacred precinct (183. 1).

[ἐ ὑμῶ ὑμῶ] i.e. down to the time of Hdt.’s visit (cf. 183. 5).

[τετράδεκτον] Unnecessary after τὸν (II. 138. 3).

μέχρι οὗ ὡς πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (ad Viger. 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, μέχρι οὗ ὡς πύργων εἰότι, and μέχρι ὡς πύργων. Klotsz however (Devaurus, 230) thinks that the full phrase is μέχρι τοῦ τοῦτο, ὡς ὡς πύργων (ἐστι), usque ad id quod (ad eum numerum quin octo turrimns sì, ‘up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers,’ Cf. ii. 173. 1.

§ 4. ἀναβαίνοι] ‘Stairs to go up by.’

[ἔνθεν] The πύργος was στερεός.


§ 5. μεσοῦντι] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. 61] = ἡ κλία. The absence of any ἀγαλμα renders this religious observance different from the Roman lectisternium.

§ 7.] oι Χαλδαῖοι] See Grote

H. G. II. 467 (III. 388).

CH. 182. § 1. κατάταρ...κατά τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπουν] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. τὰ περὶ...ἐτερα τοιαῦτα, 191. 4; κατάταρ —καὶ θὺ καὶ, ii. 146. 2; ἐς οὐ—μέχρι τοῦ τοῦτο, III. 31. 3.

[ἐκθέτι] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. μνημόθεν, 173. 6; ἀλεγεῶς, III. 96. 1; ἀρχιβεῖ, VII. 104. 1.

Διὸς τοῦ Ἐθ. Cf. ii. 41. 1.

[γνώρι] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. τοῦ θεοῦ] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patarā during
the winter months only. 'Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta Deserit ac Delum maternam invisiit Apollo.' Virg. Aen. iv. 143. So 'Delius et Patareus Apollo,' Hor. Od. iii. 4. 64. The subject of γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεὸς, 'when he has come there,' like ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκην τὰς διεξομολογίας, v. 77. 1: 'κρηστήριον, anticipated from the following clause (Kr.): (3) ἡ πρώμαντις (Bähr), 'when she has become priestess (again'). The last seems best.

§ 5. τὸν χρ. ἔκατον] This would naturally mean 'in the time of Cyrus,' the period which the narration has reached. But in this case ἐπὶ is rather pointless, since the statue remained till the reign of Xerxes, i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the phrase simply means 'that great time,' i.e. the time of the Persian war. 'Through the whole of Hdt.'s work the wars for Greek freedom are the great crisis on which his eyes are fastened.' Kr.

ἀνδραὶ] is seldom used of the statue of a god (31. 9. n.).

ἐγὼ μὲν μιν] It must have been removed before Hdt.'s visit to Babylon, since Xerxes died B.C. 465.

§ 6. ἐπιβουλέως] The Persians would naturally be hostile to the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bähr). In the account of the seven conspirators Darius is represented as extremely impetuous in character (III. 71—2).

κινέων]. 187. 3. n.
CH. 184. § 1. πολλοί] Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. i. App. viii. But the Ἀσσυρίας λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. ii.' St.

"Ἀσσυρίων λόγοι.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; 11. 38. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (Hist. An. viii. 18) refers to a work περὶ τῶν πολιορκῶν τῶν Νινὼν, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἡσιόδος instead of Ἡρόδοτος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

ἐπεκάλουσαν] ‘Further beautified.’

§ 2. καὶ μὲν…αὐτὴ μὲν] Answered by ἦν δὲ…αὐτὴ δὲ, next eh. See 113. 2; VII. 30. 3.

γενέσεως τῶν] i.e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.).

This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of Nineveh called Sannumramûtu, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. i. App. vii. 10. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

CH. 185. § 1. δεύτερον] Used for οὐστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to δῶ above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (11. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. i. App. viii. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labyntesus and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

συντεταγμένη] An allusion to the masculine character and profligacy of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἄλλα ἄλλα τε] ἄλλα was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

αὐτοῖς = ἐν αὐτῶν, τῶν Μηδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation
of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (ταχύς, 180. 2; βραδότερος, 185. 7).

§ 2. σφα] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where σφα prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (Lexil. nως) concludes from the analogy of ἐμιν, that only σφω (not σφα) was used in the singular.

οὔτως δὴ τι] ‘So exceedingly.’

§ 3. τοῖς χταῖς θων.] See i. 2, n. ἐς τοῦ Ἐφερ.] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (v. 52. 5), καταστάλωσα (if ες is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: quando ad Euphratem devenirent eoque Babylonom vehintur, Bähr.

§ 4. δοῦν τι ἐχώ] ‘Worthy to be marvilled at, how great it is (i.e. that it is so great) in bulk and height.’ Cf. οἰων, 31. 6, n.; δοῦν, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσων ὦν ἡδύ, III. 113. 1. τι is added on the analogy of τοιοῦτο τι (192. 5), δοῦν being equivalent to δι τοιοῦτο.

§ 5. Αὐτρον λμη] ‘A basin for a lake,’ i.e. a lake-basin. Αὐτρων, lit. that which wraps up (ἐλών), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (ἐλοι), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

ὁλγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

ἐς τοῖς διομ] ‘Till she reached water,’ i.e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

δα] Singulis locis. St. χοῦν] οὐρυμα denotes the hole dug, χοῦς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).
§ 7. ἡ ἀρ. ταῦτα λεγ.] ‘Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.’

ἐξα...ητεὶς. The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.); (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἐκ τοῦ πλ.] ‘And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.’

ἐκδικηται. Sc. τοὺς πλοῦτας. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river navigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon. (194. 6).

§ 8. τῆς ἐκ Μ. Ἰδοῦ] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris, while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. ‘The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.’ St.

CH. 186. § 1. ἐκ βάθους] Ab. renders: ‘out of the materials obtained from the excavation,’ in which case ταῦτα can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like ἐξ ἱσοῦ): ‘below ground,’ as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταῦτα...παραβάλετο] ‘Girt (the city) round with these defences’ (163. 3).

ἐκ αὐτῶν] Not ‘after they were finished’ (a use of ἐκ, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but ‘in consequence of them,’ ‘by means of them:’ = ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου, below. The ἔργη described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. λογίς] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (λογίων has been conjectured), the meaning must be ἡ πόλις ἔστι δύο φάραγγα. But ἡ πόλις ἔστι δύο φάραγγα would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 132. 3, n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. προσέδι] προ- refers to the
future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. τὸ βάθρον] The stream: but below, τοῦ β. = the river-bed.

ἀρσουν] ‘which she was digging’ (as described above): the descriptive imperf. instead of the pluperf. (81, 2, n.).

§ 5. καταβάσας] ‘Steps to go down by’ (179, 4, n.).

πυλέων] See 180. 5.

§ 6. ἡ σίλα τετρ.] ‘Square planking,’—apparently a sort of drawbridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. οἷος γενόμενον] Stein reads γενόμενον, ‘that was afterwards to become a marsh,’ comparing εὑρετο, 187. 5. But γενόμενον is simpler: ‘the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a λίμνη had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.’

CH. 187. § 1. ἐπιπολής] simply = ‘above,’ not ‘resting upon’ (Π. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλέων] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. αὐτέων = just above the gates.
The text contains a mixture of Greek and Latin, with some English annotations. The Greek text appears to be from a philosophical work, possibly a dialogue or a treatise, discussing the nature of wisdom and knowledge. The annotations are in English, providing explanations and contexts for the Greek text. The annotations mention various passages from other works, such as Hesiod and Hermann, indicating a scholarly approach to understanding the original text. The text is a mixture of early medieval and ancient Greek philosophical thought.
apposition with πατρὸς. Labynetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labynetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the Na- bu-nahit (= 'Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. Nebuchadnezzar (died b.c. 561) was succeeded by his son Evil- merodach, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law Ne- riglissar (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (Nabunahit) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifi- cations attributed by him to Nitoc- ris were the work of Nabunahit. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. App. VIII. 21.

§ 2. Στρατηγεύσας 61] Hdt. ap- plies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125. 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seignior.'

ἔσκευσαμένος] Prob. right, in- stead of ἔσκευσαμένως, which how- ever might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. ἀπεψήμαιν] 'This shows that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, com- paring σκένδων (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), vii. 54. 2. The water of the Choas is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

CH. 189. § 1. Γύνη] See Dict. Geogr. Cyrus was marching to Baby- lon from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 2).

ὁ Ἔλ] i.e. the Tigris.

Ἱρών ὑπνῶν] They drew the sa- cred chariot and the chariot of the king (vii. 40. 4—6).

συμψίζον] Swept him off, 'ob- literating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar. Nub. 975). St.

ὁξικεῖα] The pluperf. as at 79. 2.
§ 3. σχοινοτείνας δ. must be taken with both verb and part. With the former σχ. has a literal, with the latter a figurative sense. ‘He laid out trenches by stretching a rope along, marking them out as straight as a line.’

τρόσων] = Att. τροτήν, ‘direction.’ Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. τριπλ. καὶ ἐξίκ. The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. ἀντὸ δὲ Κλίκων ἐπιτι λευκοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρικόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐς γι-

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τρόσων] = Att. τροτήν, ‘direction.’ Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. τριπλ. καὶ ἐξίκ. The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. ἀντὸ δὲ Κλίκων ἐπιτι λευκοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρικόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐς γι-βόμενος, III. 90. 4. ὑπάλλαμπτ. [Properly of day-break. Spring is regarded as the dawn of the year (St.).]

§ 2. ἐκστρατευομένοι] No attempt seems to have been made to turn the river defences to account (185. 7, n.). See Grote H. G. III. 180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. προκαταβάτω[ It has been suggested that the verb here is not προκατάγω but προκάθω (cf. 155. 4, n.): frumentum ante sibi cumulatum: cf. ἀδάπεντες ὑδατι, III. 7. 1. But the question seems to be settled by οὐτα καὶ ποτὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐδάφιον, V. 34. 1, where the construction of ἐδάφιον would be extremely harsh. For the absence of augment, see 19. 1.

§ 4. ἀνωτέρω] simply = ἤ τὸ πρόσω (III. 56. 1): lit. ‘further in-
191 κοπτομένων. Είπε δὴ οὖν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέουσι ὑπεθῆκατο, εἶτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐπολείς δὴ τοιοῦτε. τὰξας τὴν στρατινὰ ἀπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐσ τῇ πόλει ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὁπισθε αὕτης τῇς πόλεος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἑξεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλεος ὁ ποταμὸς. προείπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατῶν τὸ ἐπέθεμον ὕδατια γεωμένου, ἔστειν ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλην. οὐτοὶ δὲ τῇ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταύτα 3 παρανέσας, ἀπελλαντε αὐτοὺς σὺν τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἡ τῶν Βασιλικόν 4 βασιλεῖα ἐποίησε κατὰ τῇς ποταμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῇς λίμνης, ἐπολεῖς καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐτερα τοιαύτα. τῶν γὰρ ποταμῶν διώρυχι 5 ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἑυσάν ἐλος, τὸ ἄρχαλον ἐπέθρευν διαβατῶν εἰναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοοτήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο- 6 μένου δὲ τοῦτου τοιχῷ, οἱ Πέρσαι, ἱπτερ ἐπετάχθη ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἐπέθρον τοῦ Εὐφρίτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπο- νοοτήσαντος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρῶν μᾶλστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐστέθαν ἐς τὴν Βασιλικά. Εἰ μὲν πρὸ προετήκοντο, 7 ή ἐμάθον οἱ Βασιλικόν οὐκ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμονον, οὐδὲ ἄν

land, the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away (προκόπτει) the obstacles in its line of march.

C.H. 191. § 2. [ἐπασαν] Possibly ἐτέρους may be supplied here with ἐξ ἐμβολῆς from ἐτέρους below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (τάξας τὴν στρ. ἄτ.) He then detached a division (ἐτέρους) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (τῷ στρατῷ) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

[ἐτερα τοιαύτα] = similia (120. 9): § 5. [ἐσούσαν δὲ] Krtg. renders 'into the marsh which thus formed a lake,' reading τὸ for τῆν. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: 'into the lake, being at that time a marsh.' Hdt. uses the term λίμνη of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So τῆς λίμ- νης is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.

§ 6. [οὐ] With μᾶλπτα κη. § 7. [ἐμαθον] 'Seen for themselves.' C.f. λέγεσι βασιλέα θρει- μένων μαθεῖν τὴν ηῆ ἐμβαλοῦσαν, VIII. 88. 2; ἰθοτι καὶ μαθητή, VII. 37. 3.

[οὐδὲ] 'They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.' The negative belongs to the participle only. οὔδε (instead of οὔκ) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, π.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ιροῦ πύργος στερεός οίκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εύρος· καὶ ἕπτι τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβεβηκε, καὶ ἔτερος μᾶλα ἕπι τούτῳ, μέχρι οὐ ὁκτὼ πύργων. ἀνὰ-4 βασίς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δὲ κοι τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐστὶ 5 καταγωγή τε καὶ θάκοι ἀμπαντήριοι, ἐν τούς κατίκοντας ἀμπαίνονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ 6 νῦνό ἐπέστη μέγας· ὡς ἐν τῷ νηῷ κλίνῃ μεγάλῃ κέεται εἰς ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τραπέζῃ παρακάτειται χρυσήν. ἀγαλμα 7 δὲ ὦν ἐνι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐνδυμάζειν οὐδὲ νῦκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναν-λίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἑπεχώρων, τῆρ 182 ἄν ὁ θεὸς ἔλησε ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἔνοντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Θασὸ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ 1 πιστὰ λέγοντες, τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν φοιτῶν τε ἐς τὸν νηῶν, καὶ ἀναπαύοντας ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνῃς, κατάπερ ἐν Θήβαις ὁ Αἴ- γυπτικὸς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἴγυπτιοι καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔκειδι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Θηβαῖος γυνῆς ἀμφότεροι δὲ αὐτὰ λέγονται ἀνθρώπων πλοῖο· οὐ ποιῆσαι καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκῆς ἡ πρό- μαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεάν γένηται· οὔ γὰρ ὡς αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστή-


μέχρι οὗ 6. πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (ad Viger. 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, μέχρι οὐ ὁκτώ πύργων εἰς, and μέχρι οὐκ ὁκτώ πύργων. Klots however (Desarivis, 230) thinks that the full phrase is μέχρι τοῦτον, οὐκ ὁκτώ πύργων (εἰς), usque ad id quod (ad cun numenum qui) octo turrim sit, 'up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers,' Cf. II. 173. 1.

§ 4. ἀναβασις] ‘Stairs to go up by’ ἔξωθεν] The πύργος was στερεός, ἔχουσα] With κύκλῳ περὶ, ‘running round’ (180. 4).

§ 5. μεσοῦντι] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. ὦ] = τῇ κλίνῃ. The absence of any ἀγαλμα renders this religious observance different from the Roman lectisternium.


CH. 182. § 1. κατάπερ...κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. τὰ περ—εἶπεν τοιαῦτα, 191. 4; κατάπερ—καὶ δὴ καὶ, II. 146. 2; καὶ ἐκ—μέχρι τοῦτον, III. 31. 3.

ἐκδίκε] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. μητρὸθεν, 173. 6; ἀλαχέθεν, III. 96. 1; ἀρχέθεν, VII. 104. 1.

Δίως τοῦ Θῆβ.] Cf. II. 41. 1.

γυνῆ] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. τὸ θεὸν] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patar, during
προν αὐτόθι· ἐπεδόν δὲ γένηται, τότε ἀν συγκατακλητεῖται τὰς
183 νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἐστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱρὸν καὶ ἕ
ἀλλος κάτω νηῷ· ἐνθα ἀγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον
χρύσεω, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακεῖται χρυσῆ, καὶ τὸ
βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστι· καὶ ὁς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλ-
δαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἐξω
δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμὸς ἐστι χρύσεως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλὸς βωμὸς 2
μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ 3
χρυσέον βωμὸν οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθνᾶ μοῦνα.
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέξονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζοντι λυθανωτοῖ χίλια 4
τάλαντα ἔστεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε, ἔπεαν τὴν ὀρθὴν
ἀγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἡν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ 5
χρύσον ἐκεῖνω καὶ ἀνδριάς δυώδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεως, στε-
ρεῶς. ἐγὼ μὲν μω οὐκ εἴδον τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων,
ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρείῳ μὲν ὁ 'Τοσάσπεος 6
ἐπιβουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ἐξέβη δὲ ὁ Δαρείον
ἐλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱέα ἀπέκτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μη κινεῖν τὸν
ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο. ἔστι δὲ 7
καὶ ἀδαμάτα πολλά.

the winter months only. ‘Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique
fluenta Deserit ac Delum maternam
invisit Apollo.’ Virg. Aen. iv. 143.
So ‘Delius et Patareus Apollo,’
Hor. Od. iii. 4. 64. The subject of
γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεός, ‘when he
has come there,’ like ἐπεδόν κατὰ
tὴν Κιλικίαν ταῖς διεξι χένωνας,
vii. 77. 1: (2) χρυσάριων, antici-
pated from the following clause
(Kr.): (3) ἐπιβουλεύσας (Bahr), ‘when
she has become priestess (again)’.
The last seems best.
ἐπεδόν δὲ γέν.] δὲ resumes. Cf.
χ. 164. 4.
§ 5. τῶν χρ. ἐκείνων] This would
naturally mean ‘in the time of Cy-
rus,’ the period which the narration
has reached. But in this case ἐτὶ is
rather pointless, since the statue
remained till the reign of Xerxes,
i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the
phrase simply means ‘that great
time,’ i.e. the time of the Persian
war. ‘Through the whole of Hdt.’s
work the wars for Greek freedom are
the great crisis on which his eyes are
fastened.’ Kr.
ἀνθρώπ] is seldom used of the
statue of a god (31. 9. n).
ἐγὼ μὲν μω] It must have been re-
moved before Hdt.’s visit to Baby-
lon, since Xerxes died b.c. 465.
§ 6. ἐπιβουλεύσας] The Per-
sians would naturally be hostile to
the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bahr).
In the account of the seven conspir-
ators Darius is represented as ex-
tremely impetuous in character (iii.
71—2).
κινεῖν] 187. 3. n.
Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. App. viii. But the Ασσυριοι λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοί βασιλεῖς, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. II.' St.

'Ασσυριοι λόγοι.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; 118. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (Hist. An. viii. 18) refers to a work περὶ τῶν πολιορκίαν τῆς Νινοῦ, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἰλιὸδωρος instead of Ηλιόδωρος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

'Ενεκόςμησαν] 'Further beautified.'

§ 2. η μὲν...αὐτὴ μὲν] Answered by η δὲ...αὐτὴ δὲ, next eh. See 113. 2; vii. 39. 3.

γενέσθαι πάντα] i.e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.). This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (b.c. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of Nineveh called Sammurmis, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. I. App. vii. 10. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

§ 3. δευτέρον] Used for ὑστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to διὸ above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (111. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. I. App. viii. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labyntus and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

'Συνεντορὴ] An allusion to the masculine character and proflicity of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἀλλ' ἄλλα τῇ] 'ἀλλ' was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

'Αυτοῖς] = ἥπ', 'αυτῷ, τῶν Μῆδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation
of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (παχός, 180. 2; βραδύτερος, 185. 7). § 3. οφ] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where οφ prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (LXIII. 19) concludes from the analogy of έλω, that only οφ (not οφα) was used in the singular.

ουτὼ δὲ τα] ‘So exceedingly.’ § 3. Todo τῆς 9.] See I. 2. n. ἐστὶν Εὔφρα] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (V. 52. 5), κατα- γελέως (if έστι is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: quando ad Euphratem deveniret soque Babylonem vehementer, Bähr.

§ 4. δεσον τι δοτι] ‘Worthy to be marvelled at, how great it is (i.e. that it is so great) in bulk and height.’ Cf. ολως, 31. 6, n.; δοις, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσιον ὑπὸ ἡδὺ, III. 113. 7. τι is added on the analogy of τοιοῦτο τι (192. 5), δοις being equivalent to ολι τοιοῦτο.

§ 5. ἐλατριον λήμνη] ‘A basin for a lake,’ i.e. a lake-basin. ἐλατριον, lit. that which wraps up (δλω), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (δλοι), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

δλιγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

to τι οθω] ‘Till she reached water,’ i.e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

d] Singulis locis. St. χουν] ἄργυμα denotes the hole dug, χοῖς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).
§ 7. τὸ ὄρ. παῦν ὄλος] 'Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.'

ἐκ...[λου] The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.): (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἐκ τῆς πλήρεως] 'And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.'

ἐκδίκησαι] Sc. τοῖς πλέοντας. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river unnavigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon (194. 6).

§ 8. τῆς ἐκ Μ. ὀδοῦ] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris, while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. 'The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.' St.

Ch. 186. § 1. ἐκ βάθους] Ab. renders: 'out of the materials obtained from the excavation,' in which case ταύτα can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like ἐξ ὁσοῦ): 'below ground,' as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταύτα...περιβάλλετο] 'Girt (the city) round with these defences' (163. 3).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] Not 'after they were finished' (a use of ἐξ, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but 'in consequence of them,' 'by means of them': ἐστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐργοῦ, below. The λίμνη described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. [λου] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (ἔσωθας has been conjectured), the meaning must be ἐν πολίς ἐστὶν δίοι φάρασα. But ἐστὶν δίοι φάρασα would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 138. 3, n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. προσέβαλε] προ- refers to the
καταβάσιας, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε ἐν τῶν ποταμῶν. Ἀνοικόδομησε πλίνθοις ὁπτῆσιν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τελεῖ τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κοῦ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖς λίθοις, τοὺς ὁρύζατο, οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδηρὸν τε καὶ μολίβδον. ἔπειτε ἔσκε, ὅκως μὲν ἣμέρῃ γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπὶ ὅν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖτο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον τοῦτε εἰνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτίσσεται τὸς νύκτας κλέπτοις παρ’ ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τὸ τε ὀρυχθὲν ἐνλήμνηε ἐγενόες ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκκόσμητο, τὸν Ἐὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἑσθέρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε καὶ οὖτω τὸ ὀρυχθέν, ἔλος γενόμενον, ἐς δὲν ἐδοκεῖ γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῦτο πολύτιτι

future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. τὸ ὤρυσυν] The stream: but below, τὸ β. = the river-bed.

ἐκαταβάσιας] 'Steps to go down by' (179. 4, n.).

πυλῶν] See 180. 5.

§ 6. ξύλα τετρ. ] 'Square planking,'—apparently a sort of drawbridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. άδει γενόμενον] Stein reads γενόμενον, 'that was afterwards to become a marsh,' comparing εὑρέτο, 187. 5. But γενόμενον is simpler: 'the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a λίμνη had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.'

CH. 187. § 1. ἐπιτολής] simply = 'above,' not 'resting upon' (II. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλῶν] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. αὔτερων=just above the gates.

II—2
§ 2. ὑπάρχειν] ‘Intellige de literis cuneatis,’ Bähr.

μη σπάνισθαι γε = ἢ γε μη σπά-

νοσα. The former γε belongs to

ἀλλωσ | ‘for any other reason,’

τεμερ.

οὐ γὰρ ἄμενον] ‘It is not better

= it is better not. οὐ, as in οὐ κελέω,

οὐ εἰώ. There seems to be an allu-

sion to Hes. Ὀρ. 750, μη’ ἐπὶ ἁκή-

ντώσι καθήτωσι οὐ γὰρ ἄμενοι.

§ 3. ἀκίνητος] i.e. was regarded

as something sacred, κυριωθα being

used of sacrilege. Cf. κυνήοντα τι

τῶν ἀκίνητων, VI. 134. 4.

τεμερῆ] See 7. 1, n.

§ 4. καὶ δεινὸν] δεινὸν ἐδώκει...

καὶ μηδὲν χρέεσθαι... καὶ μη μή ὦ λαβεῖν.

μη οὐ is used because δεινὸν εἶναι

implies a negative notion. Acc. to

Hermann per μη σερτα, per μη οὐ δυ-

διλανιστὸς νεγατον. ‘But in many

places the meaning is rather that of

wondering or indignant repudiation

of the opposite notion.’ Madv. G. S.

App. 295. Tr. ‘it seemed mon-

strous, when treasure was there,

actually asking to be taken, not to

take it.’

§ 5. ἔγινετο] Futurus erat. ‘By

a rhetorical expression the imperf.

without ἂν is used to denote what

would be (or have been) an imme-

diate or easily-foreseen consequence

of anything,—the consequence being

described as already in the act of

taking place.’ Madv. So the aor.

διέβησαν, 75. 6. Hermann calls this

‘the rhetorical omission of ἂν.’

§ 6. ἔτει] So ἔτα, II. 19. 3. Other

forms of the imperf. used by Hdt.

are ἔτεικε, 196. 3; ἔτα, 196. 5. Doubt-

ful forms are ἔτει, 181. 2, n.; ἔτον,

VII. 143. 1.

Ch. 188. § 1. Ἀδβυνήτου] In
apposition with ταργός. Labenetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labenetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the Nabu-nahit (= 'Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. Nebuchadnessar (died b. c. 561) was succeeded by his son Evil-merodach, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law Ne- riglisar (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (Nabunanhit) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifications attributed by him to Nitocris were the work of Nabunanhit. See Rawlinson, Bk. i. App. viii. 21.

§ 2. Στρατεύεται διὰ Hdt. applies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125, 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seignior.'

ἔσκευσάμενος] Prob. right, instead of ἔσκευσάμενος, which however might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. ἀπεφημοῦν] 'This shews that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein:—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, comparing στένων (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), vii. 54. 2. The water of the Choaspes is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

Ch. 189. § 1. Αὐνή] See Dict. Geogr. Cyrus was marching to Babylonia from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 3).

ὁ δὲ] i. e. the Tigris.

[ὁδὲ ἱστών] They drew the sacred chariot and the chariot of the king (vii. 40. 4—6).

συμψηφος] Swept him off, 'obliterating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar, Neb. 975).']

οἶχώσε] The pluperf. as at 79. 3.
§ 3. σχοινοτενέας β.] must be
taken with both verb and part.
With the former σχ. has a literal,
with the latter a figurative sense.
'He laid out trenches by stretching
a rope along, marking them out as
straight as a line.'

πρόσοφον = Att. προσφήν, 'direction.'
Various explanations of the story
are given. The object of Cyrus was
(1) merely to cross the river (Larch.),
(2) to fertilize the country by irri-
tigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army
practice in the engineering operations
which he had resolved to adopt
at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. προκ. καὶ ἔκκ.]
The number of days in the year
(32. 3), and prob. also the number of
the sacred horses. Cf. ἀπὸ δὲ
Καλκών ἵπποι λευκά ἐξήκοντα καὶ
τριγύδιοι, ἐκάστης ἱμέρης ἐν ἡμ.
όμενος, III. 90. 4.

§ 2. ἐκκρατευόμενοι.] No at-
ttempt seems to have been made to
turn the river defences to account
(185. 7, n.). See Grote H. G. III.
180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. προσδέχατο.] It has been
suggested that the verb here is not
προσδέχω but προσδόσω (cf. 155. 4,
n.): frumentum ante sibi cumula-
runt: cf. σάραντες ὄδαν, III. 7. 1.
But the question seems to be settled
by σώτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τέιχος ἐκδέχατο,
v. 34. 1, where the construction of
σάραντε would be extremely harsh.
For the absence of augment, see
19. 1.

§ 4. ἄνωτέρω] simply = ἐκ τὸ
πρόσω (III. 56. 1); lit. 'further in-
land,' the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away the obstacles in its line of march.

Ch. 191. § 2. έτερους] Possibly έτερους may be supplied here with ες ἐμβολῆς from έτερους below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (τὰξας τῆς στρατῷ ἀπέτρεψε. He then detached a division (έτερους) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (τῷ στρατῷ) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

έποδε] The city is regarded as facing up the stream (cf. 75. 4, n.). So έμπροσθε νων Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ έποδε, VII. 176. 3; έποδε τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνδύου, VIII. 53. 2.

§ 4. τῆς λίμνης] The artificial basin (έλυτρον) mentioned 185. 5.

έτερα τοιαύτα = similia (120. 9):
§ 5. έυόσαν έλος] Krüg. renders 'into the marsh which thus formed a lake,' reading τῷ for τῆν. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: 'into the lake, being at that time a marsh.' Hdt. uses the term λίμνη of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So τῆς λίμνης is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.


§ 7. άμαθον] 'Seen for themselves.' Cf. λέγεται βασιλέα θεογίαν μαθεῖν τῆς ἤμα έμβαλασθαν, VIII. 88. 2; ἰδοὺ καὶ μαθώντι, VII. 37. 3.

οὔθ' ἄν] 'They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.' The negative belongs to the participle only. οὔθ (instead of οὐ) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, ἀ.
περιηδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν κάκιστα. κατακλησάντες γὰρ ἀν πᾶσας τὰς ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν ἡ πυλίας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασίας ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔλημανες, ἑλαβον ἀν σφες ὡς ἐν κύρτη. νῦν δὲ ἔξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ 9 Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλεως, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτης οἰκεμένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἐσχατα τῆς πόλεως ἐαλωκότων, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκεόντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γὰρ σφι ἑσύσχειν ὅρθην) χορεύει τε τούτου τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ εἶναι, ἐς δὲ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπιθυμοῦντο, καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τὸτε πρῶτου ἀραίητα.

192 Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοίσι μὲν καὶ ἐλλοισι δηλώσω, δοκὶ τίς ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῳδε. Βασιλεῖ τὸ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῶς διαρι- ρηταί, παρέξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα, δοκὶς ἄρχει. δυνάθοικα δὲν 2 μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐναυτόν, τοὺς τέσσερας μηνὰς τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὁκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα 'Ασίη. ὀυτοὺς τριτημοριή ἡ 'Ασσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμει 3 τῆς ἀληθῆς 'Ασίης καὶ ἡ ἄρχη τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ

But the correction of δ' (for οὖν') is very plausible: they would have let them get into the city (i.e. into the river within the city walls), for thus they would have caught them in a trap. For of δ' on this view, see notes, 107. 4; 112. 3.

§ 8. ἄν] is repeated, either on account of the length of the sentence, or to mark that the condition applies to the part as well as to the main verb.

κάρπη] Cf. βόλος, δικτύον, 61. 5.
§ 9. παρέστησαν] 'Came upon them.' St. compares τῷ δ' (Thersites) ὡς παρεστάτω διὸς 'Οδυσσεύς, Hom. Π. II. 243; and the phrases παρεστατο τῷ θώμα (23. 2), θνητος, συμφορά etc.

οὐ μανθάνειν] For the inf. see 65. 6, n. Aristotle mentions a story that it was three days before parts of the city knew what had happened.

Ποι. III. 3, 5.
ἐρτὴ] 'Belshazzar's feast.'
καὶ τὸ κάρτα] Ironical: cf. 66. 4. For καὶ, see 117. 1.
πρῶτον] It was taken a second time by Darius (III. 159), B. c. 519.
CH. 192. § 1. τοῦ φόρου] The regular tribute, which amounted to a thousand talents of silver (III. 92. 1).

§ 2. ἐς τὸν ἄν.] 'To make up the year.'
τοὺς] See 18. 2, n.
§ 3. Ἀσσυρίη] i.e. Babylonia (178. 2, n).
τῆς ἀληθῆς] We should have expected the regular partitive genitive, τῆς ταύτης. The gen. here may be regarded as the case of reference: 'a third part as compared with the rest of Asia' (which forms the other two thirds). So μόνον τῶν ἄλλων
Πέρσαι σατραπητίναν καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασεύων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλῶν τε κρατίστη, ὀκου Τριτανταίχη αὐτῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλεῶς ἔχοντε τῶν νομῶν τούτων, ἀργυρίου μὲν προσῆμε 
ἐκάστης ἥμερης ἀρτάβη μεστή· ἢ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρου ἐδώ
Περσικοῦ, ἱππεῖα μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλείον χοίρες τρισ
Ἀττικῆς. Ἡπποὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἑδὲ, πάρεξ τῶν πολέμων, 
μυστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀστακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ 
βαινόμεναι ἡξακισχίλαι καὶ μύραι.· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἐκατός 
τῶν ἔρεων τούτων ἐκούσα Ἡπποὺς. κυνῷ δὲ Ἰνδικῷ το
τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλήθος ἐτρέφετο, ἣτο τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ 
πεδίῳ κόμας μεγάλα, τῶν ἀλλῶν εὐόχα, ἐτέλες, τούτη κυσ
προσετακτατο στίγμα παρέγειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἀρχοντὶ 
193 τῆς Βασυλίων ὑπήρχε ἡών. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἕτε 
ῦσαν μὲν ὅλης, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφου τὴν μίαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ
τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενων μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρυνεται τὸ τὸ
λήμνον, καὶ παρατίθεσαι ὁ σῖτης θ᾽ Κατάπερ ἐν Ἀγάπτῳ, 
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἁρυράς, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ
tε καὶ κηλωνήθησαι ἁρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βασυλίων χώρη ἡ

Ἐλλήνων (which virtually = μὴν 
πάντων) Aeschin. 2. 37 (cf. II. 156. 
γ); ἡ μόνος ζή καλίστα τῶν ἄλλων, 
Plat. Rep. 1. 353. Or else the gen.
is partitive. Assyria, while really 
distinct from the rest of Asia, is by 
the mode of expression represented 
as forming part of it. Compare 
notes on τὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄλλα καὶ ιωσί, 
193. 4. On either view the phrase is 
analogous to ἐνδαυομοντάς τοῖς 
πρώτοις βασίλειοι, II. 161. 2.

σατραπητίνα. The Persian word 
which occurs in the Behistun inscrip 
tion (Rawlinson) was Ἰσθα 
ταφε, or Ἰσθαταφε. 
ἐκ] Cf. 68. 4.

προεοτ[ε] Redikat (πρόσοδος = re 
ditius), i.e. at the time when Hdt. 
was at Babylon. Cf. ὑπήρχε, below; 
ὁ 146. 6. There were 48 χοίρε 
κε in the Attic μεδίμνοι, which = about 
12 gallons (English) or one bushel 
a half.

§ 4. αὐτοῦ] ‘There,’ i.e. in Ba 
bylonia. ‘Possibly a gloss on 6l.’ 
Kr. Or possibly the true reading
is αὐτῷ, which would strengthen
ἰδίγ.

§ 5. κώμαι—προσετακτατο] = 
kώμαι προσετακτα. See 7. 5, n.
These Indian hounds (a very large 
breed) were kept for hunting.

ὑπήρχε ἡών] ‘Belonged of right.’ 
ὑπάρχω, because he could (and 
no doubt did) claim further privileges.
Inversely, ὑπάρχω ὑπαλ. V. 124. 2.
Cf. 103. § 1. ὑπαλ] Sc. ὑπαρ, 
the instrumental dative. Cf. ὑπα ὑπα, 87. 2; ὑπήρται ψακάδι, III.
10. 4.

τοῦτο] = τὸ ὅλην acc. to Stein. 
But it rather = ὅσοι, ὅσα being 
the emphatic word, as is shown by 
the position of μὴν. The rain, little 
as it is, is sufficient for the first stage 
of the crop: but everything after 
wards has to be done by irrigation.

παραγεταὐ] ‘Comes on.’ 
σῖτος] is ‘the full corn in the ear,’ 
λήμνον, ‘the blade.’

οὐ—ἀναβαίνοντος, ἄλλα—ἀρδύ 
μεν] Cf. 62. 1, n.

ἐν Ἀγάπτῳ] See II. 14. 3.
πάσα, κατάπερ ἡ Ἀιγυπτία, κατατέμπηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἦτοι νησιστέρητος, πρὸς ἡλιον τετραμμένη τῶν χειμερινῶν ἦσέχει δέ ἐς ἄλλων ποταμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐὔφρατεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὅν Νίνος πόλις οὐκήτο. ἐστι δὲ χωρέων αὐτὴ ἀπασέων μακρὰ ἀρίστη, τῶν ἡμείς 3 ἰδιεῖ, Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δεόδρα 4 οὐδὲ περάται ἀρχὴν φέρειν οὔτε συκέν οὔτε ἀμπέλων οὔτε ἑλαίην, τὸν δὲ τίς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὁδὲ ἄγαθη ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ, ἢπλῇ ἀπασέων μὲν τὸ παράπον ἀποδοί, ἑπεὶ δὲ ἀριστα αὐτή ἐσωτή ἐνεικη, ἢπλῇ τρικάσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ ἕφυλλα αὐτὸθα τοῦ τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριβῶν τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσάρων ἐντετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κένγρου καὶ ἔστι οὐσάμοι ὅσον τι δεόδρων μέγασα γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος

§ 2. πρὸς ἡλιον τ. τοῦ χ. i.e. 'south-east,' since ἡλιον = ὁ τόπος εἰς οὗ ἡ ἡλιον ἀνατέλλει, Hesych. (quoted by Steinitz). Cf. οἷς ἡλιον Αἰδώνει (ἐν οἷς ἡλίου ἀνατέλλων in the preceding sect.) VII. 70. 2; and the Homeric πρὸς ἥλιον τε.  
παρ' ὅν Not quite like ἐς τῶν (14. 6, n.), since οὐκήτο does not so definitely imply previous movement as προκατίστων. Prob. the use of the accus. here is due to the fact that the city would not touch the river merely at a single point, but would extend along it to some distance. So κώμωι πολλαὶ ἡγαί παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ('as one walked along'), Xen. Ap. Ill. 5. 1. The clause παρ' ὅν κ.τ.λ. is added merely as a description of the Tigris, which however has been mentioned before (189. 1). Cf. 170. 3, n.
§ 4. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα] To our idiom ἄλλα appears redundant, since corn cannot be included under the class δένδρα (δένδρων below, used of millet, has a special force). So Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμέχων, v. 32. 2. More frequently ἄλλα is used without the article in this way. Cf. ἄλλα, 216. 3; ἄλλον τε εκατάβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίτοδα, I. 179. 1; ὅ γὰρ ἦν χείρος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρων οὐδὲ, Xen. Ap. I. 5. 5. In these passages either we have another instance of the tendency of Greek idiom to represent objects as included in a class to which they do not belong (192. 3, n.), or else ἄλλος stands in apposition with the subst., = those other things, namely fruit trees. The Homeric use of ἄλλος (e.g. θυμός δὲ μοι ἑορται ἰδὴ | ἄλλων ἐπάρων, Od. x. 485), is rather in favour of the latter explanation.
πιερᾶται] Sc. ἡ χώρα.
οδῆ—ἀρχήν] Ne omnino quidem, 'does not even begin to try' (9. 3. n.), 'makes no pretence of bearing.'
ἰσοτητα] 'As compared with itself' (at other times). This idiom has been called comparatio reflexiva. The gen. is one of reference, and is equivalent in meaning to πρὸς with the accus. So τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς ἔδοκεν ἡ πολίς καθίσταται, 'favourably situated as regards the war,' Thuc. III. 92. 5. The Greeks could not merely say (as we say) 'best of all,' but also 'best of others' (192. 3, n.) and 'best of oneself.'
§ 6. δένδρων] is emphatic. They may be called trees.
καρπών ἥγ.] ’Even the aforesaid yield of fruit,’ lit. ‘that which appertains to’ (130. 4), hence ‘the productive qualities’ of the καρπος mentioned above.

ἀπίστως] ‘Have met with.’ So ἐς πάνιν βρασόνων ἀπίστωμενοι, ‘though they underwent all sorts of torture,’ viii. 110. 3. Hdt. refers to the incredulity of people with whom he had conversed on the subject.

§ 7. τοιούτως] One MS. τοιεύοντας, which is prob. the result of τοιεύοντας below. ‘The passage is an instance of the coordination of participle and finite verb (8. 2). By supplying ἐλαίον τι χρείανται the sentence becomes grammatically correct.

ἐκ τῶν κ. τ. λ.] The palm here mentioned is the date-palm, the sap of which by fermentation produces palm-wine, and if not allowed to ferment yields a ‘saccharine syrup.’

(μελ.) By στίς Hdt. means either pressed cakes of dates, or more prob. the soft pith at the top of the palm-stem, which is called palm-cabbage.

§ 8. τούτον ἔρεν.] τούτον is the relative. ἔρενα. So called because they bear no dates.

[Ἡφ. πετ. κ. τ. λ.] This statement about the gall-fly is a mistake. It is necessary however to secure fructification that the pollen from the blossoms of the male palm should come in contact with the fruit of the date-tree. Hence the practice, which is still observed.

ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φ.] = βδαλαρος above.

Ch. 194. § 2. ρύγια] With σκύτως (179. 5), referring to the outward appearance merely (ἐξωθεν, § 3).

§ 3. ἐστάστων...τοιεύοντας] ‘They make...and then’ (17. 4. n.).

ἐδάφεος τρ.] This if right seems
to mean 'by way of bottom,' or 'hull.' The ἔθαφος γῆς (Hom. Od. v. 249) is the skeleton or ground-plan of the ship, before the details are filled in. But the use of τρύσω is strange on this explanation, since properly it ought to introduce a comparison. If we could omit it (on the supposition that it had got into the text here owing to ἀστιδός τρύσων below), we might construct ἔθαφος with ἱερωθεῖν,—'they strain a sheathing of skins round these, outside the framework.'

οὕτω προέμνησι] 'They neither keep the sides apart for the stern, nor draw them in for the stem.' Cf. ἄπεκριθος, 60. 4; συνήγον αἰς τὴν διώρυχα, 'kept narrowing it in,' vii. 23. 3. Tacitus describes boats of a somewhat similar construction,—'pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio,' Hist. iii. 47.

§ 4. καλάμη] For packing the cargo.

φέρεσθαι] Cf. καιλαθαι, 176. 1. 

φοινίκ. 'Of palm wood.' The correction φοινικηθῆνα is both without MS. authority and inconsistent with 193. 7.

ὁ μὲν ἔσω] St. translates: 'while the one draws the oar-handle inwards, the other pushes it outwards.' But he admits that this is not clear.

More prob. ἔσω, ἔξω go with ὅ μὲν, ὅ δέ. As the oars would be required merely for steering, only one would be used at a time. At this the man who had the outside place, at the extremity of the handle of the oar (ὅ ἔξω), stood with his face to the bows (in order to steer better) and pushed, while between him and the side of the boat (ἦσω), at the same oar, the other stood with his face to the stern and pulled in the ordinary way.

§ 5. καὶ τετακισχοῦ.] Cf. 117. 1, n. If the talents meant are Euboic this would be about 180 tons; if Babylonian, considerably over 200.

§ 6. ἄν ἄν ἀκρήpsαν] This form of tmesis (apparently a provincialism, as it does not occur in Homer) is always as here used with the aorist and (with the exception of ii. 172. 4) in descriptions of a customary process. It is esp. common in Book ii. Cf. 39. 3; 40. 2; 47. 1; 70. 3. The usual explanation is that it = 'straightway, without more ado.' But this is prob. too definite. Perhaps ἀν simply expresses the correspondence of the apodosis with the protasis, like τε in ἔκει τε, ἰδί τε (14. 8, n.). Cf. 132. 4, where ἀν is put with the verb, although there is no tmesis: also 144. 1; II. 20. 8.
Ἀρμενίων. ἀνά τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ὀλί τέ ἐστὶ πλέειν ἀφίδειν τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῖται τὰ πλοία, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἔπειτ' 8 δὲ τοῖς όνοις ἑλάντοντες ἀπίκωνται ὁπίσω ἐσ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πλοία. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοία 195 αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα. Ἑσθήτη δὲ τοιῇ δρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδημεκεὶ λινέρ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτον ἀλλὸν εἰρίνεον κιθώνα ἐπενδύοντα, καὶ κλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρία, παραπλήσια τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς μέτρησιν ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πάν τὸ σῶμα. σφηνηῖδα δὲ ἐκάστος ἔχει καὶ σκήπτρον, χειρὸς 3 ποιήσει, ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένοι ὁ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνου ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἀλλο τι. ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπιση-4 μον οὐ σφι νόμοι ἐστὶ ἔχων σκῆπτρον. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτησις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστι.

196 Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὃδε καταστέασι. ό μὲν σοφότατος ὃ δὲ, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυρίων Ἐνετοῖς πυνθάνομαι ἁράσται. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ έτεος 3 ἐκάστου ἐπουέτο τάδε. ὃς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γνωστὰ γάμων ὄρααι, ταύτας ὅκεις συναγάγουν, πάσας ἐστὶ νόμιν ἐσαφὲς καὶ ἀλεάς. τέρπει δὲ αὐτῶς ἰστατο ὀμίλοι ἀνδρῶν. ἀνισταῖς 3

CH. 196. § 1. τοιῇδα] refers not merely to κιθώματα, but also to καὶ ἐπὶ τούτον—ἐμβάσι. τοιῇδα—ἐπενδύω A change from the plural to the collective singular (ὁ Βοσφολόων: cf. 132. 2; 197. 2, 4; II. 38. 2. See also 97. 1; 179. 3. notes. επενδύοντα governs both κιθώνα and κλανίδιον, but περιβαλλόμενος belongs only to the latter. μίτρησι] 'Turbans.' σφηνηῖδα] Engraved gems and 'cylinders' (i.e. pierced stones of a cylindrical shape which were pierced along the surface of the clay in order to make impressions) have been found in great numbers among the ruins (Layard's Ninev. and Bab. 538). There is a large collection of them in the British Museum. CH. 196. § 1. ἡμετέρην] Less dogmatic than ἐμφ, 'as 1 (and those who think with me) believe.' Cf. 37. 2. Ἰλλυρίω] Hdt.'s Venetia seems to include part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic. § 2. ἐπουέτο] 'Used to be done' (§ 8). ὃς] = δκως, 'as often as' (68. 7). Here the addition of δκ (extremely rare) either implies that the action is dependent on some condition (= 'in case there were any'), or else is a continuation of the Epic use, e.g. ἔκρην χρητημεν μεγενεν, Hom. Od. IV. 222; ἄλλ' δὲ ἀν ἤθησέν, Hes. Op. 131. The emendations suggested, δι' ἄν αὐτ ἢ, ἀνα αἰει ἢ, are extremely forced. τάσας] prob. goes with what follows, not with συναγάγον. Krüger compares δόροις γέφυρες, τάσαι, Xen. Hell. 1. 3. 17.
δὲ κατὰ μὲν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ πολέεσκε, προθά μὲν τὴν ἀκει-
δεστάτην ἐκ πασέων μετὰ δὲ, ὅκις αὐτῇ εὐρούσα πολὺς
χορυσίων προθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ἥ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ἔσομεν
εὐειδεστάτην. ἐπωλέουτο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσθη. ὅσοι μὲν ἦν ἐν
ἐσκον εὐδαιμόνες τῶν Βασιλείων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες
ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευόντας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου
ἐσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἰδοντες μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῖ,
οἱ δ᾽ ἂν χρήματα τε καὶ αἰσχύνας παρθένους ἐλαμβανο-
ὼσ γὰρ διεξέθησα τὸ κῆρυξ πολέεσκε τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν 5
παρθένων, ἀνιστὴ ἢν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτέων
ἐμπροσ τε, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι, ἐλάχιστον
χρυσίου λαβών, συνοικεῖοις αὐτῇ, ἐς δὲ τὸ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπε-
σταμένῳ προσεκέπο. τὸ δὲ ἢν χρυσίου ἐγένοτο ἀπὸ τῶν 6
eiειδέως παρθένων. καὶ οὗτοι αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ
ἐμπροσ τοὺς ἐξεδίσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐσωτερικὸν ὑγιάτερα, 7
ὅτεω βουλόμεθα ἐκαστὸς, οὐκ ἔξην, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυνητῶν ἀπαγα-
γέοοι τὴν παρθένων πριμάμενον, ἄλλη ἐγγυητὰς χρήν κατα-
στήσαντα, ἡ μὲν συνοικίσας αὐτῇ, οὗτο ἀπαγορῶσα ei δὲ
μὴ συμφρονῶσα, ἀποφέρεω τὸ χρυσίου ἐκέστο νόμος. ἔξην 8
δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀλλῆς ἐλθότας κόμης τῶν βουλόμενον ἄνεσεβαι.
ὁ μὲν νῦν καλλιστος νόμος οὗτος σφί ἂν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε

§ 3. εἴροισα] As we talk of any-
thing 'fetching' a large sum.
[έροισα] Always used by Hdt. in a
frequentative sense (IV. 129. 3; 200.
4; VI. 133. 4).
ἐξι συνοικ.] i. e. not as slaves.
§ 4. εἴροισα] is predicate.
οὗτοι Σά] See 113. 2, n. Here
οὗτοι μὲν is omitted before ὑπερβα-
λοντες.
οὗ Σά] 107. 4, n.
§ 5. δεῖξατο] With τολέων,—
'had come to an end of selling.'
[δὲ] 187. 6, n.
προσεκέπο] sc. ἡ πάρθενος, 'was
assigned to.'
§ 6. τῷ δὲ ἐν χρ.] For the se-
paration of article and subst., see
I. 4. Hermann (Opusc. IV. 20) well
explains the use of ἐν with the im-
perf. indic. in a frequentative sense
(cf. ἐν ἐλαμβανον, ἅπαξ ἐν, above)
as implying that out of several facts
mentioned any single one may be
referred to, and thus involving an
element of chance. This explana-
tion will perfectly well cover ἐν
ἐγένετο here: 'the gold (in any par-
ticular case that you chanced to
take) would come,' i.e. 'the gold
(in all cases) used to come.' Hence
it is strange that Herm. here (after
suggesting aδ as the possible reading)
should limit the force of ἔν το-χρυ-
σίον, by translating 'quantum id
forte aurí erat.'

ἐξεκάστου] 'Provided dowries for'
(93. 4).
§ 7. τὰ μέν] See II. 118. 3, n.
ἀποφέρεω] To pay back (into
the common fund). ἐνοφερέω in ἐκ-
παθές, 123. 5. Cf. 2, 4; 14. 2, n.
διετέλεσε ἐώς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐξευρήσας νεωτέρες γενέσθαι, ὡς ἐκ ἀδικοῖς αὐτῶς, μὴ ἐστὶν ἐπόλυν ἀγωνιᾶς ἐπεὶ τῇ γὰρ ἀλώντες ἐκκακόθεν καὶ αἰκοθρόηθαν, πάσα τις τοῦ δῆμου, 197 βίου σπανίζων, καταπορτεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ ὁ σοφὴ ὃδε ἀλλὸς σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε. τούς κάμυντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφορέως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρεώνται ἐπιτρέπο. προσιότερον ὃν πρὸς τὸν κάμυντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦς, εἰ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἄδικος ἑπαθεί, ὁκοῖοι ἔχει ὁ κάμυν, ἢ ἀλλ' ἐν ἑιδε παθόντα, ταύτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι, καὶ παραιτεύοντες ἀσά αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξεφυγε ὀμοίων νοῦς, ἢ ἀλλ' ἐν ἑιδε ἐκφυγόντα. συνε ὃ δὲ παρεξελεβεῖ τὸν κάμυντα ὁ σφι 198 ἤξεστι, πρὶν ἀν ἐπείρηται ἤρτινα νοῦς ἔχει. Ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, ὃρνοι δὲ παραπλήθους τοῦτο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὅσικε δὲ ἂν μικρὰ ἡ ναύακα τῇ ἐσωτερικῇ ἄνω Ἡραμοῖος, ἐπὶ θυμίαμα καταγιζόμενον ἢ ἥμα, ἐτέρωθα δὲ ἡ ἀγνή τούτω ἕτοιμο ποιεῖ, ὁρθοῦν δὲ γενομένου, ἀλονταί καὶ ἀμφότεροι 199 2 ἀγγείος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄγωνται πρὶν ἀν λούσωνται. ταύτα δὲ ταύτα καὶ Ἀραβίουν ποιεῖν.

§ 9. γενέσθαι] The epexegetical infinitive is not without parallel (see notes on τελευτάσθη, 32. 8; εἶναι, 153. 6). But the whole passage has the appearance of having been tampered with by the copyists. Stein conjectures that the words γενέσθαι—ἀγωνιᾶς originally stood in the MSS. before ὧν μὲν νυν κάλλιστος (§ 8), and that a line has been lost between ἅνεσθαι and γενέσθαι. He suggests as the lost words: χρόνον δὲ καὶ τούτων (τῶν ἄνθρωπος κόσμος) ἅπασσα τῶν ἐπιχωρήσεων ἡγὐνατά τῶν ἅπασσα ἐπιχειρεῖ (γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.). This certainly gets rid of the difficulties, ἀδικοῖς] By making them slaves (§ 3). The subject to ἀδικοῖς is of bovλομενοι ἅνεσθαι (§ 8), and ἀγωνιαῖ is middle, not passive (34. 5; 146. 4). For ἀδικοῖς—ἀγωνιαῖ, see 185. 7, n. ἀλώντες] By the Persians. Ch. 197. § 2. τῶν κάμυντα] Above τῶν κάμυντας (195. 1). καὶ αὐτὸς] As well as the sick man.

§ 4. σφι] Prob. plural (185. 2, n.). Hence here we have another instance of the change from plur. to sing. (ἐπεληθαι).

Ch. 198. § 1. ἐν μέλιτι] Strabo adds κηρὸς περιελάπαστε (Bähr): cf. 140. 2.

τοῦτο ἐν Ἑλλ.” See π. 85.

§ 3. καὶ ἀμφότεροι] See 117. 1, n.

thinking it unworthy of themselves, 'not deigning.' Thus ὡς is used as in ὁμιλ.

§ 3. Ἑρμηνεύονται In token of servitude to the goddess. This same practice is referred to in the book of Baruch (6. 43).

§ 4. σχοινοτενείς may have either a literal or a figurative sense (189. 3. n.).

πάντα τρόπον is prob. adverbial, and ἔχουσι intras. as at 180. 4. (Compare 189. 3 with 11. 108. 3). On this view ὅδων follows τρόπον almost pleonastically; 'running in all directions in which paths can run.' Others take ὅδων with διέχοσι, but the order is against this. ὅδων, the reading of some MSS. (which Abicht supposes to have arisen owing to a repetition of  ὅποιον from the preceding word), might be retained if ὅδων ἔχουσι could = praebent iter. But see note, 126. 5. Bekker's conjecture δ' ὡν ἔχουσι is opposed to Hdt.'s invariable practice of using the aorist with this form of tmesis (194. 6).

§ 6. τοσόνθε] 'No more than this' (128. 2).

[199. 3. ἩΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ]

ηπικαλέω τοι] 'I call to witness against thee.' Bähr explains τοι by 'tuam in gratiam, ut tibi propitia adsit dea.'—'the spirit of the goddess be upon thee.' But the phrase is more probably a sort of threat: = the goddess will punish disobedience. So Cambyses lays a charge upon the Persians, θεοῦ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπικαλέων ὑμᾶς, III. 65. 10.

Μὐλίττα] Cf. 131. 3.

§ 7.  δοσον ὅν] 'As small as you please.'  δοσον ὅν = quantulumcumque (II. 22. 7), while  δοσον ὅν = quantulumcumque (157. 3; 160. 2).

οὐ γὰρ μὴ] (the amount makes no difference) for.

§ 8. ἀποδοκιμᾷ] Prob. the future (97. 3. n.). See however L. and S. Lex.

ὡς μὲν] Krüger reads ὡς μὲ (cf. 87. 4. n.). But ὡς will stand very well in the sense of ὡτε. Cf. προσφιλέτες οὕτω δὴ τί ἐγένοτο, ὡς...ἐκέλευσε, 163. 3. So also with the infin., e.g. ἐξεκούσας, II. 135. 2, π. λάμψαι = λήψαι.

§ 9. ἐπαγμέναι] 'As many as have attained unto comeliness and
κατέγραψε". Στο παράδειγμα, η χρήση του λεξικού δεν είναι εσωτερική, αλλά εξωτερική για τον κατάλογο των εσωτερικών λεξικών. Με τον τρόπο που το αποτέλεσμα είναι επίσης συνεπές, η χρήση των λεξικών δεν βρίσκεται στην εσωτερική λεξικογραφία, αλλά εξωτερική. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι η χρήση των λεξικών δεν είναι εσωτερική, αλλά εξωτερική για τον κατάλογο των εσωτερικών λεξικών. Με τον τρόπο που το αποτέλεσμα είναι επίσης συνεπές, η χρήση των λεξικών δεν βρίσκεται στην εσωτερική λεξικογραφία, αλλά εξωτερική. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι η χρήση των λεξικών δεν είναι εσωτερική, αλλά εξωτερική για τον κατάλογο των εσωτερικών λεξικών. Με τον τρόπο που το αποτέλεσμα είναι επίσης συνεπές, η χρήση των λεξικών δεν βρίσκεται στην εσωτερική λεξικογραφία, αλλά εξωτερική.
202 λέγουσι τούτο το εθνός είναι. 'Ο δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέξων καὶ ελάσσων εἶναι τοῦ 'Ιστροῦ νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ, Δέσβοι μεγάθεα παραπλησίας, συχνάς φασι εἶναι. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπους, οἱ συνέντοι μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὄρυσσον-
tes παντολας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δευδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐστὶ φοβηθην καταθίσεται ὅραιος, καὶ τούτους συνέσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρήσεται δένδρεα καρποὺς τοι-3 οὐδὲ τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἄν εὐ τούτῳ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλᾶς καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαϊσωσται, κύκλῳ περιξομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ ὀσφραιμένους δὲ καταγιγμένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδυμῇ, κατάπερ Ἑλλήνης τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ 4 μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐστὶ ἐστὶ ὀρχησάν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐστὶ ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὐτὴ λέγεται διάλεια εἶναι.
'Ο δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ἔσσε μὲν ἐκ Ματηνών, ὥθεν περὶ τοῦ Γόνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διόρυξας τὰς ἔξηκοντα τε καὶ τριήκονια


CH. 202. § 1. Ἀράξης] It is impossible to reconcile Hdt.'s different statements, though he nowhere implies that there was more than one river of the name. His Araxes rises near the sources of the Gyndes (§ 5), and flows eastwards (IV. 40. 1) into the Caspian. This would correspond to the course of the historical Araxes (mod. Aras), which flows in a north-easterly direction into the south-west corner of the Caspian. But the Massagetae lived to the east of the Caspian (1. 204. 1), so that Hdt. seems to have confused with the Aras the Oxus or the Jaxartes, which flow westwards into the Sea of Aral (possibly at that time a part of the Caspian). Again at IV. 11. 2, the Araxes seems to be meant for the mod. Volga, which flows southwards into the Caspian.

καὶ μέξων καὶ δισ.] i.e. according to different accounts: IV. 81. 1, δια-

φόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἄρμου ἡκονον' καὶ γάρ κάρτα πολλὸν εἶναι σφαῖς καὶ ὀλγον.

megathēsa] Cf. II. 10. 4. So εἶθε, 'beauty' (of a number of persons), VIII. 113. 3. By 'islands' of this size Hdt. means that the river separates into branches, which unite lower down, thus inclosing a large tract of ground. A similar island is described in the Asopus (νῆσος δὲ οὐτω ἐν ἑπὶ ἥδεις), IX. 51. 2.

§ 2. συνέονται μὲν ... καταθη-

σθαι] The construction is changed owing to φαιν above.

φοβηθην] here might be thought to imply contempt, as if their food were so primitive that it only deserved the name of fodder. But elsewhere (211. 2; VII. 50. 8) it is simply used for φῶς.

§ 3. τοὺς] The relative explains τοιοῦτοι τινὰς (87. 4; 203. 3), and is the accus. after ἐπιβάλλειν (24. 11, n.).

μεθύσκεσθαι] 'Cognitandum hic de planta quadam narcotica, quae per fumum inebriandi vim habet similem fere in modum atque herba Nicotiana.' Bähr.

§ 5. τὰς διώρυ. i.e. those de-

scribed at 189. 3.
κλειώ.

διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος· στῷμασι δὲ ἐξερεύνηται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τα πάντα πλὴν ἕνος ἐς ἐλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ. ἐν τούτῳ 6 ἀνθρώπων κατοικήσθαι λέγουσι ἱχθοὺς ὁμοὺς συνομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρῶσθαι φωκέων δέρματι. τὸ δὲ ἐν ἑνὶ τῶν στομάτων του Ὁράξεω 4 ἐπὶ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Καστίνθ θάλασσαν. ἦ δὲ Καστίνθ θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ἐωτῆς, οὐ̣ς̣ 8 συμμόσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θάλασσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἐλληνες ναυτίλουντα πάσαν, καὶ ἦ ἐξ ὁστὲων θάλασσα ἔλεγεν Ἡμαν. 203 τῆς καλεομένης, καὶ ἔρυθρη, μία τυγχάνει ἐσώσα.  Ἡ δὲ 1 Καστίνθ ἐστὶ ἑτέρῃ ἐπὶ ἐωτῆς, ἐσώσα μῆκος μὲν πλάον εἰρεσίη χρωμένω πεντεκαίδεκα ἠμέρων, εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυ-

στόμασι] = 'branches' rather than 'mouths' in the ordinary sense: cf. ii. 17. 4—6.

τεσσαράκοντα] It seems prob. that 40 was the conventional number used by Eastern nations to express a considerable quantity of anything. Bähr. There can be little doubt that the marshes and shallows mentioned here really denote the Sea of Aral, of which Hdt. gives no separate account.

§ 7. διὰ καθαροῦ] 'Through the open,' opposed to διὰ τενάγεων, by which the course of the other streams was encumbered (211. 2, n.). Bähr prefers the rendering, per minime turbidum et limosum labi, comparing ἐπὶ καθαρῶς παρὰ θαλασσαῖο, iv. 53. 2.

§ 8. ἐπὶ ἐωτῆς] Hdt. contrasts favourably on this point with authorities much later than himself. Even Strabo (about 20 B.C.) thought that the Caspian was connected with the Northern Ocean.

συμμοσγοῦσα] Cf. ἐξεισ. 6. 1.

γὰρ] gives the reason for the use of the sing. above (τῇ ἑτέρῃ 8.).

πάγαν] i.e. including the Black Sea and the Palus Maeoticus.

στῆλεν] Elsewhere (ii. 33. 5) we have Ἡρακλητῶν added. The omission of the article shows that the name was a well-known one (iii. 2, n.), while the insertion of καλεομένη implies the reverse with regard to Ἡμαν. Ἡμαν. simply = 'the sea of Atlas,' i.e. of the mountain so called at the western extremity of the earth (iv. 184. 5; 185. 2). Notice the absence of any ὀκεανός (ii. 21, 23).

For Ἐρυθρή, see i. 1, n.

μία] This fact would have been learnt from the circumnavigation of Africa, described at iv. 42, 43.

CH. 203. § 1. ἐφοίτησεν ἥπ.] This prob. = in addition to sailing, i.e. when there is no wind for sailing, the use of mere row-boats on this sea being neither customary nor generally possible (St.). In any case we cannot apply to this passage the calculation which Hdt. gives (iv. 86. 1) as to the average daily distance run by a sailing-vessel. It seems not unlikely that Hdt. measures the length of the Caspian from east to west and its breadth from north to south, the sea of Aral at that time forming part of it (Bredow). The proportion however of Hdt.'s measurements (15 : 8) is exactly that of the actual measurements of the present sea, 750 : 400, the greatest breadth (τῇ εὐρύτατῃ) of the Caspian being about 400 miles, though its average breadth is not much over 200 (Rawlinson). Hdt. has clearly under-estimated its size.

For the dat. χρωμένω, see 14. 4; for the genitives πλοῦς, ἠμέρων, ii. 8. 4; ii. 2, n.


§ 2. *τα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐών οὐρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει ύψηλότατον.* Ἕθελε δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοτά ἐν ἐσωτερικῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ’ ὕλης ἀγρίης ζώοντα. ἐν τούτοι καὶ δένδρα φίλλα τοιῇς ἰδέης παρε-3 χόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβουντά σε καὶ παραμίσγονται ὑδάρ, ξύλα ἐωτοῦσιν ἐς τὴν ἑσθήτα ἐγγράφεων τὸ δὲ ξώα οὐκ ἐκπλίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκατατηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίμη, κατά-περ ἑυφυανθέντα ἁρχῖν. μίξει δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων 4 εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖς προβάτοις. Ὁ μὲν δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Καστῆς καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἰό τε καὶ ἱλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδεκεται, πλήθος ἀπειρὸν ἐς ἀποφυγὴν τοῦ ὑπ’ ἁρχὸν πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοιρὴν μετέχουσι ἵνα Μασσαγέται, ἐπ’ οὗ ὁ Κύρος ἠσχετ' ἑρυθρία προθυμίαν στρατεύεσθαι πολλὰ τε γὰρ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύ-2

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**DESCRIPTION OF THE CAUCASUS REGION**

Above, 193–4. The highest summit, Elbrus, is 18,500 feet high. It is the highest peak in Europe. The mountain was first climbed in 1840 by Russian climbers. It is a popular climbing destination. The mountain is also a source of fresh water to the surrounding regions.

**THE STEPPE REGION**

The steppe region is vast and flat, with a dry climate. It is home to various animals such as horses, camels, and sheep. The region is also important for agriculture, with wheat and barley being the main crops.

**THE WILD FRUITS OF THE FOREST**

The wild fruits of the forest are mentioned. They are important for the local population, providing food and medicinal plants. The forest is also home to various animals such as bears, wolves, and deer.

**CYPRESS TREE**

Cyrus is another example of the action of Nemesis (cf. 30. 2). Pride in his birth and past successes, in spite of all warnings (207. 4), leads him to his destruction.
νοῦτα ἢν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκεῖν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἴδουσε οἱ στρατευόμεθα Κύρος, ἅμιχανον ἢν ἐκεῖνο τὸ έθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205 Ἡν δὲ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπτων ὁ Κύρος ἐμυατὸ τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναικά ἦν ἔχειν. ἤ δὲ Τόμυρις, συνιείσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μὴ μνῷμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλικὴν, ἀπεισετὸ τὴν πρόσοδον. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τούτο, ὦς οἱ δὲλ' οὐ προεχόμεθα, ἔλασσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεΐς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγετέας στρατηγίαν, γεφύρας τε ξενυγών ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διάβαςιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πῦργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθημένων τῶν ποταμίων οἰκο-206 δομεόμενος. Ἐχούσι δὲ οἱ τούτου τῶν πόλεων, πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κηρυκα ἐλεγέ ταῦτα ὁμ. Βασίλειος Μῆδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν εἰδεῖς εἰ τοῦ ἐς καιρὸν ἐσταὶ ταύτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλεια τῶν σεωντοῦ, καὶ Ἰμέας ἀνέχει ορέων ἀρχοντᾶς τῶν περ ἀρχομεν. Οὐκ ὁν ἐδείκτησε ὑποθήκης τησίδε χρεόςβαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁ ἡ γένεσις] See 122. 3; 126. 7.


δεύτερα] Cf. δῆλα, 4. 3.

στρατευόμεθα] expresses the purpose (163. 3). Translate 'whither-soever he turned his arms.' Hom. Od. XI. 591, διοίς ἴδανε ὁ γέρων ἐπὶ χερόι μάθαισαν.

CH. 205. § 1. Τόμυρις οἱ] A common form of asyndeton (71. 2).

τῷ λόγῳ i.e. not τῷ ἔργῳ (δῆλον, § 3). Cf. 59. 5; II. 100. 5. Tr. 'sent and pretended to woo her, saying that he wished to have her to wife.' ἢν — σωμ, the only instance of this possessive pronoun in Hdt.

§ 3. διάβαςιν] 'That his army might go over' (179. 4, n.).

τῶν διαπορ. 8] 'That were to carry them across the river,' i.e. the boats which formed the bridge. The plur. γεφύρας prob. does not imply more than one bridge (the sing. is rare in Hom.), the whole bridge being regarded as a succession of smaller bridges from one pontoon to the next. Cf. 75. 4; 187. 1, n. The mention of πῦργοι implies that the bridge was being thrown across in the presence of the enemy (ἀναχωρησάντων, 206. 3).

CH. 206. § 1. Μῆδων] See notes, 117. 1; 163. 3. So of the Persian king in Hdt.'s own time, IV. 197. 1.

σπεύδων τῷ σπ.] See 39. 2, n.

ὄρεων] Wess. strangely proposes to read οὐρέων ('mountains'), which would be both pointless and inconsistent with 204. 1.

§ 2. οὐκ θε...οὐ δὲ] ἐπετει ὄβκ—

σὺ δὲ (ὦ), an instance of paratactic construction (173. 3, n.). For the force of ὦ, see II. 134. 2, n.
DI' ἴσον κ. εἶναι] ἴσον χαίρειν, 'to be at peace,' the notion of in or at being involved in that of through. So dia φοι'υν εἰσὶν = φασόμενα, Thuc. vi. 34. 2.

§ 3. ei προθυμεῖαι] Bahr follows two MSS. (the rest reading ἴν). So at ii. 13. 4, the majority of MSS. have ἴν ἐπιλείλει. Conversely at ii. 13. 3 all the MSS. but two read ei ἄναβει. Notwithstanding Bahr's authority the probabilities are clearly in favour of the less regular construction being the true reading, ei with the subj. and ἴν with the indic. may fairly express intermediate shades of meaning between ei with the indic. and ἴν with the subj. Acc. to Hermann (Opusc. iv. 46) ἴν with the indic. implies the speaker's belief that something is true, coupled with an admission that possibly it may be false: so that ἴν προθυμεῖαι would = 'if, as I firmly believe (indic.), though possibly it may not be the case (ἴν), thou art desirous.' Acc. to Kloetz (Devar. 472), while ἴν with the subj. implies a real connection of cause and effect, = quum with the subj., 'since thou art desirous, therefore,' —ὑν with the indic. simply denotes an external condition, = quum with the indic., 'while (it chancing to be the case that) thou art desirous.'

σοὶ δὲ ἴμεων] For ἴμεων δὲ (107. 4, n.).

§ 5. ποιέῃ] Deliberative subj. (53. 1; 159. 2).

§ 6. συνεξέπτ.] properly applies to the voting-pebbles (ψῆφοι) which were taken out of the urn (ἐκ) when the votes had been collected. Here it is used of the opinions represented by the ψῆφοι, and at VIII. 123. 2 of the voters who put in the ψῆφοι.

Ch. 207. § 1. ἐναντίον] Sc. γνώμην. See note on ἔτερον, 98. 5. πρότερον] See 89. 2.

τι...ἀποτρέψειν] Cf. ὡς — τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαυ, III. 32. 4. Both passages prove that this use of δτι (ὡς) cannot be explained by supposing that it introduces the exact words of the speech (II. 115. 4, n.), and is therefore not taken into account in the construction. Nor is it satisfactory to say that the infinit. is due to forgetfulness of the previous δτι. More prob. the writer intends all through the sentence to use the infinit., but finds it necessary to insert δτι (ὡς) to mark exactly where the statement begins. Thus here 'without the particle it would be doubtful
whether ἐτεῖ μὲ Ζεὺς ἑδωκέ τοι did not depend on ἐπὶν instead of on ἀποτρέψειν. 'St.
§ 2. τὰ δὲ μοι π. 'My sufferings, all grievous as they are, have served me for a lesson.' Some take Áψαμα with μαθηματα, 'bitter lessons:' but συμφορῇ ἀψάμ (42. 1) and οὐδὲν ἀψάμ παθεῖν (VIII. 143. 4) are against this. Stein reads τὰ before ἔστα, 'those which I have to bear.' The proverb may be well rendered in Latin: quae nocent docent, 'we live and learn.' Compare πάθει μάθως, Aesch. Ag. 170, and the almost convertible phrases τί μαθῶς; τί παθῶ; in Attic prose. For the ὀμοιολογία, cf. χρήματα καὶ κτήματα, Plat. Legg. v. 718, ὡς καὶ χῶρες, Hipparch. 225, where the context implies that this jingle of terminations was a common rhetorical trick in the law-courts.
§ 3. τοιαῦτας [= ἄδανδρου.

τρήμα] See 17. 5, n.

κύκλος] 'There is a wheel in the affairs of men.' So Tac. Ann. III. 55, 'rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis.'

§ 5. ἦν] 4v] 'Without more ado then.' ἦν introduces the application of these remarks to the present case. Its use implies that the opinion of Croesus which follows is the immediate consequence (117. 1, n.) of the views stated above. Cf. 209. 6; II. 144. 1. The argument is:—since good fortune cannot be permanent, it is best to choose the course which offers least risk.


πρᾶξ] Prob. in its technical sense of 'satrapies' (192. 3; III. 89. 1), and so an anachronism.

§ 7. νικῶν Μασσαγ. Not the same as νικῆς below, but a repetition of νικῶν, above, rather awkwardly inserted in the clause which introduces the thing compared: = 'in the case, I mean, of thy victory over the M.'

τὸν τοῦ ναὸ] Lit. 'for against that other supposition (i.e. δέ νικῶντες κ.τ.λ.) I will set the like alternative (i.e. δέ νικῆς κ.τ.λ.).' Translate: 'for I will balance the advantage equally, thine against theirs.'
τῆς Τομύρως. Χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγγέμενου αἰσχροῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετοῦ, Κύρων γε τὸν Καμβύσεως γυναίκι ἔξαντα ὑποχωρήσας τῆς χώρης. Νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεῖς διαβάστας προελθέων ἰδόν τὸν ἐκεῖνον διεξώσει, εὔθετέν δε τάδε ποιεῖται πειράζας ἐκείνων περιγένεσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἀπευρού καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθέεσ. τούτους ὦν τούτους ἀνδράσι, τῶν προ-βάτων ἀφεδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάζαντας, προθαίνει ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαίτα: πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητίνας ἀφεδέως οἶνον ἀκρίτου καὶ σιτία παινοία. ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑποειστομένους τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τόσο λοιπὸς αὐτὶς ἐξαναχωρεύεις ἐπὶ τὴν ποταμόν. ἤν γὰρ ἐγὼ γυνώμης μὴ ἀμέτρω, κεῖνοι ἵδομενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τρέψουται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἤμιν τὸ εὐθεύτερον ἔλειται· ἀπὸ-δεξιὸς ἔργων μεγάλων."

208 Ἡγομέν μὲν αὐταὶ συνεστασαν. Κύρως δὲ μετείχε τὴν προτέρην γυνῶμην, τὴν Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγοῦε τομύρι ἐξαναχωρεύει, ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησμένου ἑτερόκεινην, ὡς δὲ ἐξαναχωρεῖ, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κύρως δὲ, Κροῖσον ἐς τῆς χεῖρας ἐσθείς τῷ ἑωτὸν παϊδὶ Καμβύσης, τῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλητῆς ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενος οἱ —

§ 8. ἀπηγγέμενον] Other passive deponents used by Hdt. are κατεργασμένον, 123. 3; μεμιμημένον, II. 78; μεμιμησμένα, II. 95. 1 (we find the active form μηκαναστέας in Homer: Od. XVIII. 143). Κύρων γε τὸν Κ. ] Not necessarily inconsistent with 91. 6; 107. 4, since the allusion prob. is to the personal exploits of Cyrus, not to the dignity of his descent. Had the latter been the meaning, we should have had ἰδόν γε Καμβύσως.

§ 9. διεξωσι] "That we should cross the river and advance over all the country that they pass through (in their retreat)."

τάδε=what follows (§ 10). For γάρ followed by ὃν in the next sentence, cf. 8. 2; 30. 4.

ἀγαθῶν τε...ἀπαθέεσι] Notice the elaborately balanced period. The rhetorical character of the speech throughout is very striking. Cf. especially §§ 2 and 7.

§ 10. προθαίνει] Supply δοκεῖ. ἀκρίτου] Croesus speaks like a Greek, who ordinarily mixed water with his wine.

§ 12. τε] This ought properly to follow κεῖνοι. Cf. 105. 5.

CH. 208. § 1. συνεστασαν] 'Such were the conflicting opinions. So συνεστήκει δὲ ταῦτα τῷ γυνώμης ἐν Γωβρίως, IV. 132. 2. αὐτοῦ] See 178. 3. n.

κατά] = καθ’ ἄ.

§ 2. ἔδου] Was giving, i.e. purposely to give. The Persian king in later times was obliged by law to nominate his successor before entering on a campaign (VII. 2. 1). For the subsequent treatment of Croesus by Cambyses, see III. 36.
κλειον. 185

τιμάν τε αὐτῶν καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν, ἂν ἡ διάβασις ἢ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενοι καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτος ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς 209 αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀραξα, νυκτὸς ἔπελθε θούσης, εἰς ὄψιν, εἴδον ἐν τοῖς Μασσαγέτας τῇ χώρῃ, τοιῇδε. εἶδοκε ὁ Κύρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὅραν τῶν Ἰστάσπεος 2 παῖδων τῶν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τῆν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τῆν Ἐυρώπην ἐπισκαίειν. Ἰστάσπει δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, ἐοντὶ ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαῖ-3 μενίδῃ, ὁμ τῶν παῖδων Δαρείου πρεσβύτατος, εἶδε τὸ τῆς ἥλιο-κῆν ἐς Εἰκοσίου καὶ μάλιστα ἔτεα. καὶ ὁ ὦς καταλήγειντο ἐν Πέρσαν ὡς γὰρ εἰχὲ καὶ ἥλιος ὑπενείσθαι. ἔπει ὃν 4 ἔπει ἐξηγήρθη ὁ Κύρος, ἐς τὸν λόγον ἐισόα περὶ τῆς ὠψιν. ὥς δὲ οἰ εἶδοκε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσασ' Ἰστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μούνον ἔπετε "Ἰστάσπε, παῖς σὸς ἐπισεύ-5 λέων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκλακείς ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρέκεως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κηδονται, καὶ τοιόν πάντα προ-6 δείκνυον τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ἣδη ὅν ἐν τῇ παροιχωμένῃ νυκτὶ εἴδον ἐρν τῶν σῶν παῖδων τῶν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμῶν πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τῆν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τῆν Ἐυρώπην ἐπισκαίειν. ὅγκον ἐστὶ μηχανή ἀπὸ τῆς 7 ὠψιος ταῦτας συνεδρία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύει ἐμοί. αὐν τοίνυν τῆν ταχύτητα πορεύο ὤπειρο ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ποίει ὁκὼς, ἐπεάν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφόμενος ἐλθω ἑκεῖ, ὡς μοι 210 καταστήσῃς τὸν παίδα ἐς ἐλεγχον." Κύρος μὲν δοκέων 1 Δαρείον οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἐλεγε τάδε τῷ δὲ ὁ δαλμον προε-

CH. 209. § 2. ὁ Κύρος] The subject is repeated to increase the solemnity of the story (v. 56. 1; VI. 107. 2).

§ 3. Ἀχαμανδη] And therefore of the royal house (125. 5). Hystaspes belonged to the younger branch. For his descent from Achaemenes, see VII. II. 3.

§ 6. ἤθη] = 'without more words.' Since the gods warn me of all coming dangers, it follows at once that they sent this dream to tell me of the plot (207. 5).

§ 7. τῷ μὲν] More usually μὴ ὠλ in this context (II. 181. 4). But just as verbs of hindering &c. may be followed either by the simple infinitive or by the inpf. with μὴ (II. 91. 1, n.), so negative notions of this kind may be followed either simply by μὴ (δικω ὠλ, II. 160. 5), or by μὴ ὠλ. ὡς] repeats δικω. So ὧς—ὡς, III. 71. 7; IX. 6. 2 (St.). Bähr renders by ἢται (sc. ut vōlo judico); cf. οὕτω, II. 3.

CH. 210. § 1. ὁ δαλμων] Not
with reference to any particular god, 

like δ' θεός, II. 24. 3; IV. 79. 2; but 

a personification of what is elsewhere 
called τὸ θεῖον (compare 32. 2 with 
32. 17). So δ' θεός, II. 64. 6; VII. 
46. 6; τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ προσοχή, III. 108. 
2; and δαίμονες without the article, I. 
III. 2.

προέθανε] See 34. 2, n.

περιγραφέων] 7. 1, n.

§ 2. ἐπιβουλεύεται] Krüg. reads 
ἐπιβουλευέται, which would certainly 
be more in accordance with the 
Homerian usage, e.g. μὴ ἵδαι δοτὶς 
ἐμοὶ γένετο | ἐνθάδε νυνετῶν ψίλος ἐλή καὶ 
φίλα ἐρωτο, Od. xv. 359. But the 
 fut. indic. here may fairly be used 
to express greater definiteness (‘that 
man who is about to plot’), just as 
el is sometimes used with the fut. 
indic. where we should have expe-
cted the opt.

ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι] A strong 
isinstance of the use of the infinitive 
instead of the gen. of the verbal subst. 
or of the part. (τὸ ἄρχεσθαι or ἄρ-
χομαιν.). So ἀντὶ εἰναι, VI. 32. 2; 
VII. 170. 4. The phrase may be 
partially illustrated by the choice of 
construction allowed after certain 
verbs and subsists. which would na-
turally take the gen., e.g. φῶβος ἐστὶ 
στρατευόμενος and τὸ στρατευόμενος (φῶβο 
ἐλαφρά, ‘from fear of seeing,’ Eur. 
Iph. T. 1342), ἤμελεσαν ἐρωτὰς τὸν 
θεόν καὶ ἤμελεσα τὸν ὄργανον σου 
(Madv. G. S. 156). So αἰτίων πλη-
θείον, II. 20. 2; τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦθαι 
ατίον...ατίον ἵσχυρας φορεῖν τᾶς 
κεφαλᾶς, III. 12. 4, 5. Hdt. has a 
somewhat similar use at VI. 132. 2, 
τῆς ἄξιον τῆς ἐξ ἔμεν γῆμα, where 
ἐξ ἔμεν γ. stands as if it were an 
indeclinable subst., though prob. in 
reality τοῦ has been changed into 
τῆς owing to the attraction of ἄξιο-
νως.

§ 3. νεώτερα [p.]—νεώτερον, a 
common euphemism to denote revo-
lution.

CH. 211. § 2. καθαροῦ] ‘The 
picked Persian troops.’ Lit. ‘clear 
from the hindrance of the unservice-
able part of the army.’ Cf. ὅσοι τὸ 
ἐμπόδων ἐγεύοντο καθαροῦ, VII. 
183. 2. Or perhaps καθαρὸς here = 
inìger, ‘able-bodied,’ as at Thuc. 
V. 8. 2, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερ ἐστάτευς, 
καθαρὸν ἔξελε. Compare with this 
the common English provincialism 
‘doing purely,’ which = having good 
health.
γετεών τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῶς ἐφώνευ ἀλεξίμενος, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἱδόντες δαίτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίον, κλιθέντες ἐδαλύνυτο πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἶνον εὖδοι. οἱ δὲ 3 Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μέν σφεων ἐφώνευσαν, πολλὸς δὲ ἐτί πλεύνας ἐξώργησαν, καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παῖδα, στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν 212 Σπαργαίτισις. 'Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τὰ τε περὶ τὴν στρατιῶν 1 γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδα, πέμποντα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρου, ἔλεγε τάδε "Ἀπληστε αἶματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρῆς 2 τῷ γεγονότι τῶν πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελώνιος καρπῷ, τῷ περ ἀυτοῦ ἐμπλαμένοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω, ὡστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλῶνεν ὑμῖν ἐπεσα κακά, τοιοῦτοι φαρμάκοι δολώσας, ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, νῦν ὦ μεθ' ὑπ' παραγενούσης ὑπόλαβε τῶν 3 λόγων ἀποδοῦσ μοι τὸν παιδα ἀπεθανείκες ὑς ἑκάσες ὑπ' ἐπόμυνοι τοῦ τῶν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μὲν σὲ ἐγώ καὶ ἀπληστον ἐόντα αἴματος κορέσω." Κύρος μὲν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνένει- 213 χείναν ἐποιεῖτο λόγον. ὃ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παις 1

ἀλεξίμενος:] 'Notwithstanding their resistance.'

ὑπόνες] agrees by a constructio ad sensum with τριτημορίς (cf. ἑόντας, 151. 2).

φορβῆς 201. 2, n.

§ 3. Σπαργαίτισις] Apparently the same name as that of the Scythian king, Σπαργαίτης, mentioned at IV. 76. 8. Cf. I. 201. 2, 215. 1.

Χ. 212. § 2. τῷ περ ἀυτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] 'Wherewith ye yourselves are surfeited to madness, so that as the wine sweeps down your throats, evil words bubble up on your tongues.' The metaphor is prob. taken from the foam-bubbles on a rapid stream. Stein compares νήσος πλωτή, πλένουσα, II. 156. 1, 2. Krüg. takes ἔπι in the sense of 'against other people,' like ἐπανε- πλων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, VIII. 9. 3, but more prob. it merely strengthens ἐπι. Cf. ἐπανατέλω, ἐπανάλημψω, e.g. III. 84. 4, compared with III. 85. 2.

κατιόντος] Like ποταμὸς πεδίωδε κάτεινω [χειμάρρους, Hom. Π. ΧΙ. 402. τοιούτῳ φ. 6.] repeats ἀμπελώνιος k.τ.λ.

§ 3. τριτημορίδα] The accus. or gen. would be more common. But 'verbs which denote an affection of the mind at and because of something (sometimes) take this object in the dative.' Madv. So πολλά τῷ ἀγαλ- ματί κατεγέλασε, III. 37. 2.

§ 4. μὴ] 'Ita scripsimus libris jubentibus,' Bähr. Krüg. and Stein however retain the old reading οὐ, which can be justified if the negative be taken as forming one notion with the verb.

μὴ] II. 118. 3, n.
ΗΡΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΤ

Σπαραγησην, ἂς μιν ὧ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἐμαθὲ ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεσθεὶς Κύρου εἰ τῶν δειμῶν λυθήναι, ἔτυχε· ὥσ δὲ ἐλύθη τη τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐως 214 τόν. καὶ δὴ οὕτως μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρος δὲ, ὧς ὦτε ο Ἐκ οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συνελέβασε τᾶσα τὴν ἐωτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσα δὴ βαρ-τ βάροι ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἵσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυθανομαί οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν 3 γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοῖς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν· μετὰ δὲ, ὧς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετοτέουτο, συμπεσόντας τῆς αἰχμῆς τε καὶ τούτου ἐγχειρίδιοι συνεχέσθαι· χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλῶν συνετάναι μαχομένους, καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐβέλειν φεύ-γειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγεινατο. ή τε δὴ πολλῇ 4 τῆς Περσικῆς στρατίας αὐτοῦ ταύτη διεθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτός Κύρου τελευτά, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἔνος δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκόν δὲ πλησάσα αἰματος ἀνδρωπην 5 Τόμυρος ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖς τενεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τῶν Κύρου νέων. ὧς δὲ εἰρε, ἐναπήκη αὐτῶν τὴν κεφαλῆν ἐς τῶν ἁσκόνων 6 λυμαι: ομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώοςάν τε καὶ νικώσαν σε μάχη ἀπώλεσας, παίδα τού τεμόν ἐλούν δόλω· σε δ' ἔγω, κατάπερ ἥπειλησα, αἴματος κορέσω." Τὰ 7 μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων ὄδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἰρηται.

CH. 213. § 2. ὥς μιν κ.τ.λ.] Instead of ὧς δ' τε οἶνος μιν ἀνῆκε. Compare the position of the personal pronouns at 108. 4; 115. 3; 204. 2.


CH. 214. § 1. ο] prob. does not directly depend on ἐσήκουσε, but is the dativum ethicus: ‘when she found that Cyrus did not hearken.’

§ 2. βαρβάρων ἄθρ.] sc. πρὸς βαρβάρους. So ναυακία αὕτη Ἑλληνος πρὸς Ἑλλήνας μεγεσθη, Thuc. I. 50. 2.

οὕτω] = in the following way (101, n.).

τούτοι] τὴν μάχην.

§ 3. συνεχεσθαι] συμπλέκεσθαι Hesych. (Bähr). ‘They closed and fell on one another with spear and dagger.’

§ 4. η...πολλῇ τῆς] Cf. 24. 1. αὐτοῦ ταύτη] i.e. without giving ground.

τὰ πάντα] ‘In all’ (163. 2, n.). ἐνὸς δύοντα τ.] B.C. 559—539, acc. to Clinton.


§ 7. τὰ μὲν δὴ] As if ταύτα (or οὕτω) μοι πιθανώτατα εἰρηται were to follow.

πολλῶν] Cf. 95. 2. Xenophon (Cyrop. vii. 7) says that Cyrus died.
Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθήτα τε ὑπὸ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐφέντες καὶ διαλατοὺς ἐχουσι. ἱππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνεκτοι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσί) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ἱππότροπος καὶ μασχαλιστῆς χρυσῷ κοσμεόνται. ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θόρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμα καὶ φάλαρα, χρυσῷ. σιδηρῷ δὲ οὐδέ ἀργυρῷ χρέωνται οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σφί 416 ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὅ δὲ χαλκὸς καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἀπλετος. Νόμιμοι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῦτοι γνώμαι καὶ γέμαι ἱπποκράτεις, θεοῦ τῇ χρέωνται. ὅ γὰρ Σκύθας ἡσαμ' Ἑλλήνες 2 ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται τις

in his bed of old age: Ctesias (Pers. 6—8) that he died in camp of a wound received in a battle with the Derbices. Both these accounts are less marvellous than that of Hdt. But by τιθαινότατος Hdt. seems to mean that which most deserves belief on moral grounds as illustrating the action of divine Nemesis. The tomb of Cyrus which was to be seen at Pasargadae (125. 5) in Alexander's time (B.C. 330), and was described by Arrian (about A.D. 140), has been identified with a building which still stands among the ruins of the modern Murghâb. See Dict. Geog., Pasargadae.

Ch. 215. § 1. ἀμφοτέρων] Blakesley renders: 'for of both are there tribes occupying parts (of the great waste). This seems more natural to take ἀμφ. after μετέχουσι, = 'they share both kinds of life.' Hdt. often refers to a preceding statement in a vague way, without anything having been expressed to which the word of reference can grammatically refer. See g. 1, n.

σαγάρις] Prob. 'bills' or 'battle-axes.' The precise form of the weapon is uncertain. The emphatic word of the clause seems to be κομί-

οὐντες, the sagarísi being the national weapon (IV. 5. 4), while the use of horses, bows, and lances seems to have varied in different tribes.

§ 2. τὰ πάντα] 'For them all,' i.e. in the case of all the aforesaid weapons (99. 2; II. 95. 3).

οὐσα δὲ περὶ κεφ.] simply = 'head-gear.' The Scythian head-dress was peculiar (VII. 64. 2).

§ 3. χρυσῷ] Sc. κοσμεόνται.

§ 4. οὐδὲ νοῦν ἀργ. ὅτι, = ὁμο λαθ. ὁθε λαθ. ἀργ. Cf. II. 52. 1. Owing to the addition of οὐδὲν, οὐδὲν, neither of these instances is as strong as ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταῦτας οὐδὲ ἡ ἁλλὰ παιδὲς ἐγείνοντο, ν. 92. 7; ὦ αἱ Φλυσισσαὶ νῆσε οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρης ἡκο, Thuc. VIII. 99. 1.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν] An emphatic negation. Originally no doubt the first οὐδὲ belonged to the whole sentence, connecting it with what had preceded, while the second οὐδὲ emphasized some particular notion. Thus οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲν κεναὐτὸς ὑπὲκφυγε κῆρα μελανας (II. ν. 22) = οὐδὲ κεν ὑπὲκφυγε οὐδὲν αὐτὸς. But the phrase cannot always be broken up in this way. Cf. οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲν, I. 49; οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ, I. 120. 5; οὐδὲ ὁ οὐδὲ, 134. 2.
γάρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἄνηρ, τὸν φαρέτρεων ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἁμάξης, μίσηται ἄδειως. Οὐρὸς δὲ ἡ λεικίας σφι προκεῖται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπειδ' ἐν γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσηκόντες οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸβατα ἄμα αὐτῷ· ἐψησαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευχόνται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιωτάτα σφι νενόμισται. τὸν δὲ νοσήσει τελευτάσσεται οὐ καταστεόνται, ἄλλα γὰρ κρύττοντι, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθήναι. Ἐπείρουσι δὲ οὖδεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτημέων ζωσί τι καὶ ἱχθύων' οἱ δὲ ἀφθονοὶ σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεων ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δὲ εἰσὺ. Θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἦλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι 6 ἱπποὺς. νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίας· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχύστῳ πάντων τῶν θυητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

Ch. 216. § 3. ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς] Answered by ἐπειδ' ἐν. Hdt. regards 70 years as the average limit of human life (32. 3): a life of 80 years is exceptionally long (III. 22. 7). The Massagetae did not take this or any other definite number of years as the basis of their calculations on the proper time for a man to die: but they adopted instead the more arbitrary and variable limit of extreme old age. The phrase οὗρος ἡ λεικίας is not quite the same thing as οὗρος ἔτης (32. 3), since ἡ λεικία (= prime of life) excludes infancy and old age. Translate 'as a limit after which a man ceases to live they lay down none other than this: when he becomes exceeding old' &c.
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